

Shifting Genres in Late Antiquity



Edited by
Geoffrey Greatrex and Hugh Elton
with the assistance of **Lucas McMahon**



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SHIFTING GENRES IN LATE ANTIQUITY

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A successful conference, of course, relies not merely on the injection of funds, but also on the collaboration of colleagues and students. It is fitting therefore to thank the members of the organising committee, George Bevan (Queen's University), Richard Burgess, Dominique Côté, Jitse Dijkstra, Karin Schlapbach (all of the University of Ottawa) and Greg Fisher (Carleton University). Special thanks are due to the Dean of Arts at Carleton University, John Osborne, for his consistent support; we are grateful as well to our keynote speakers, Wendy Mayer, Éric Rebillard and John Matthews, whose papers contributed so much to the conference. Only one of them is published here; the other two will appear elsewhere, we hope.

We must express our thanks likewise to the many students who helped to ensure that all ran smoothly during the event. Two among them, Mélanie Houle and Marie-Claude L'Archer, assisted in the translation of the programme and the abstracts into French, alongside our colleague Marie-Luce Constant, to whom we are also grateful. Another student, Lucas McMahon, prepared the index and assisted in the editorial process. We are happy to signal our debt to Jonathan Bardill for two of the images on the cover of the book. Finally, it is a pleasure to record our thanks to the anonymous reviewers of the contributions that have been selected for inclusion in this volume; not all papers, of course, were submitted for publication. It is worth noting in this context that the programme of the conference remains to be consulted on the web, where it is posted at <http://www.ruor.uottawa.ca/en/handle/10393/23938>. It includes the full list of abstracts, a catalogue of coins exhibited during the conference from the collection of Richard Burgess, and a brief article on contributions to the field of Late Antiquity in Esperanto.

It remains only to declare that we are dedicating this volume to Dame Averil Cameron to mark her 75th birthday, who, although not present at the conference, has produced so much influential work on the issue of genre in Late Antiquity.

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Abbreviations

<i>ABAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>ACO</i>	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , eds E. Schwartz et al., 4 vols, Berlin/Leipzig 1922–74; ser. 2, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1984–
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AnBoll</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ANS</i>	American Numismatic Society
<i>AnTard</i>	<i>Antiquité Tardive</i>
<i>BĒFAR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque des écoles française d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
<i>BHG</i>	F. Halkin, ed., <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3rd ed., Brussels 1957
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> , Brussels 1898–1901, repr. 1949
<i>BHO</i>	P. Peeters, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> , Brussels 1910
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute for Classical Studies</i>
<i>BJ</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher</i>
<i>ByzF</i>	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CCSG</i>	Corpus Christianorum, series graeca, Turnhout 1977–
<i>CCSL</i>	Corpus Christianorum, series latina, Turnhout 1953–
<i>CEF</i>	<i>Collection de l'École française de Rome</i>
<i>CFHB</i>	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Washington, DC, Vienna and elsewhere, 1949–
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin 1863–1989
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Codex Justinianus</i> in <i>Corpus Juris Civilis</i> , vol. 2, eds T. Mommsen, P. Krüger, et al., 13th ed., Berlin 1954; tr. B. Frier et al., 3 vols, Cambridge 2015
<i>CrSt</i>	<i>Cristianesimo nella Storia : ricerche storiche, esegetiche, teologiche</i>
<i>CSCO</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Louvain 1903–
<i>CSEL</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna 1866–
<i>CSHB</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Bonn 1828–97
<i>CTh</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> , eds T. Mommsen and P. Meyer, Berlin 1905; English tr. C. Pharr, <i>The Theodosian Code</i> , Princeton 1952
<i>CUF</i>	<i>Collection des Universités de France</i>
<i>Dig.</i>	Justinian, <i>Digest</i> , in <i>Corpus Juris Civilis</i> , vol. 1, eds T. Mommsen and P. Krüger, 16th ed., Berlin 1954; tr. A. Watson et al., 4 vols, rev. ed. Philadelphia 1998
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>

- FCH* R.C. Blockley, ed. and tr., *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols, Liverpool 1981–83
- FMS* *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
- Frag. Vat.* *Fragmenta Vaticana*, eds T. Mommsen and P. Krüger, Berlin 1890
- GCS* Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Berlin 1897–
- HSCP* *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
- ICUR* *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, ed. G.B. de Rossi, 2 vols, Rome 1861–88
- ILCV* *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, eds E. Diehl et al., 4 vols, Berlin 1961–85
- ILS* H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 3rd ed., Berlin 1954
- JAAR* *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
- JAEMA* *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association*
- JbAC* *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
- JECS* *Journal of Early Christian Studies*
- JEH* *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
- JJP* *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
- JLA* *Journal of Late Antiquity*
- JMMH* *Journal of Medieval Military History*
- Jones, *LRE* A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire: A Social and Administrative Survey*, Oxford 1964
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*
- JTS* *Journal of Theological Studies*
- LCL* Loeb Classical Library
- MA* *Le Moyen Age : revue d'histoire et de philologie*
- MGH AA* *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, Berlin 1877–1919
- NBA* Nuova Bibliotheca Agostiniana
- NDPAC* *Nuovo dizionario di patristico e di antichità cristiane*, ed. A. di Berardino, 3 vols, Genoa 2006–08
- Nov. Theo.* *Theodosii II Leges Novellae* in *CTh* above
- OCA* *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, Rome 1935–
- OCP* *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- PCBE* *Prosopographie chrétienne du bas-empire*, 4 vols, eds C. and L. Pietri, Rome/Paris, 1982–2013
- PG* *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1857–1912
- PL* *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1841–64
- PLRE* *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols, ed. J.R. Martindale, Cambridge 1971–92
- PO* *Patrologia Orientalis*, eds F. Nau and R. Graffin, Paris 1907–

- P. Cairo Masp.* *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, ed. J. Maspero, Cairo 1911–16
- P. Heid.* *Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrussammlung*, Heidelberg 1956–90
- P. Strasb.* *Griechische Papyrus der Kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg*, Leipzig 1912–20
- RBén* *Revue bénédictine*
- RE* *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- REAug* *Revue des études augustinienes*
- REL* *Revue des études latines*
- RHE* *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
- RHR* *Revue de l'histoire des religions*
- RIB* *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, eds R.G. Collingwood, R.P. Wright, et al., Oxford and Stroud 1965–
- RIC* *Roman Imperial Coinage*, 10 vols, eds H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, et al., London 1923–94
- RICG* *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, eds H.-I. Marrou et al., Paris 1975–
- RIDA* *Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité*
- RN* *Revue numismatique*
- RSI* *Rivista Storica Italiana*
- SC* *Sources Chrétiennes*, Paris 1944–
- SDHI* *Studia et Documenta Historiae Iuris*
- StPat* *Studia Patristica*, Berlin, then Louvain, 1957–
- TC* *Tabulae ceratae* in *CIL*, vol. 3
- TTH* *Translated Texts for Historians*, Liverpool 1986–
- TU* *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig 1882–
- VChr* *Vigiliae Christianae*
- VizVrem* *Vizantijskij Vremmenik*
- ZAC* *Zeitschrift für Antike und Christentum*
- ZKTh* *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
- ZSS* *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, romanistische Abteilung*

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Introduction

Geoffrey Greatrex

The prime focus of this volume lies in the evolution of literary genres in Late Antiquity, although other genres – artistic, numismatic, legal – are not neglected. Of course, even the Shifting Frontiers conference itself, at which twice the number of papers were given as are presented here, could not hope to cover the wealth of genres that evolved or came into being in the period. The theme is a vast one, which rightly continues to attract attention, and entire colloquia can indeed be devoted to just one genre: in Ottawa itself, where this conference took place, a seminar was held in 2009 that dealt just with the literature of questions and responses.¹

Late Antiquity was a period in which certain genres continued to flourish, e.g. traditional (‘classicising’) historiography, others underwent changes, such as the chronicle,² and still others came into being, such as church histories,³ hagiography⁴ or consular diptychs.⁵ It has been suggested that the blending of literary forms is a sign of malaise at the time, of an awareness of the troubled political climate. Hence, it was once argued, a more variegated literature emerged, in which *poikilia* or *varietas* (i.e. variety, diversity) was favoured, comparable to the disparate scenes

¹ M.-P. Bussières, ed., *La littérature des questions et réponses dans l'antiquité profane et chrétienne: de l'enseignement à l'exégèse* (Turnhout, 2013); see esp. the article of C. Zamagni, ‘Is the Question and Answer Literary Genre in Early Christian Literature a Homogeneous Group?’, 241–67.

² On which genre see R. Burgess and M. Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time* (Turnhout, 2013), ch. 1. The two scholars gave a joint presentation on this topic at the Shifting Frontiers conference.

³ On which see (e.g.) P. van Nuffelen, ‘Theology versus Genre? The Universalism of Christian Historiography in Late Antiquity’ in P. Liddel and A. Fear, eds, *Historiae Mundi: Studies in Universal History* (London, 2010), 162–75.

⁴ A genre not touched on in this volume, but see (e.g.) D. Krueger, *Writing and Holiness. The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East* (Philadelphia, 2004), 195–7, on its emergence in this period; cf. D. Reinsch, ‘Autor und Leser in frühbyzantinischen hagiographischen und historiographischen Werken’ in *18e Congrès d'études byzantines*, vol. 3, *Rapports pleinières* (Moscow, 1991), 400–14, an important article on links between hagiography and historiography. See also the articles by D. Krueger and M. Debié in A. Papaconstantinou, ed., *Writing ‘True Stories’: Historians and Hagiographers in the Late Antique and Early Medieval Near East* (Turnhout, 2010).

⁵ See now Alan Cameron, ‘The Origin, Context and Function of Consular Diptychs’, *JRS* 103 (2013), 174–207.

represented on mosaics, and perhaps indicative of a superficial culture, of the type so criticised by Ammianus in the Roman aristocracy.⁶ Recent approaches are more upbeat: in the words of Anthony Dykes, 'A distinction of later Roman writers was their willingness to mix genres'.⁷ The readiness with which genres were adapted, melded and transformed in the period is surely rather a testament to creativity and to a reluctance to be bound by conventions. It is perhaps not surprising that authors (and artists) were inclined to undertake such experimentation, given the centuries of tradition that weighed upon them. Moreover, it is likely that audiences had also come to hold different expectations from those of earlier periods, although they need not have been so lowbrow as Ammianus bitterly claimed.⁸ We shall return to the matter of the audience below.

There was once a time, not so long ago, when 'genre' seemed to offer a valuable heuristic tool in resolving certain problems in the late antique literary world. It was thus, for instance, that Averil Cameron in 1985 was able to account for the remarkable discrepancy between Procopius' three works, the *Buildings*, the *Anecdota* (or *Secret History*) and the *Wars*: he was bound by the conventions of the genres (panegyric, invective and classicising history, respectively) to include and

⁶ So J. Fontaine, 'Unité et diversité du mélange des genres et des tons chez quelques écrivains latins de la fin du IV^e siècle: Ausone, Ambroise, Ammien', in O. Reverdin, ed., *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'Antiquité Tardive en occident* (Geneva, 1977), 468–70, developed by M. Roberts, *The Jeweled Style. Poetry and Poetics in Late Antiquity* (London, 1989), 70–91. In the architectural domain, what Fontaine sees as an imposed conservatism (in the case of the reuse of earlier materials in the Arch of Constantine in Rome) is attributed by J. Elsner, 'Late Antique Art: The Problem of the Concept and the Cumulative Aesthetic in Approaching Late Antiquity' in S. Swain and M. Edwards, eds, *Approaching Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2004), 279–80, to pragmatism or to the emergence of a new aesthetic; he goes on to argue, *ibid.*, 288–93, for a deliberate use of *spolia* in the arch for ideological reasons, cf. Roberts, *op. cit.*, 97.

⁷ A. Dykes, *Reading Sin in the World. The Hamartigenia of Prudentius and the Vocation of the Responsible Reader* (Cambridge, 2011), 175. Cf. Averil Cameron, 'New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature, A Title Revisited' in S.F. Johnson, ed., *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism* (Aldershot, 2006), 14–15, 23, and Johnson's introduction to the same volume, esp. 7–8; the whole book is of relevance to the present work. See also Elsner, 'Late Antique Art', 307–8, on the 'creative syncretism' to be found in the visual arts and literature in Late Antiquity.

⁸ Cf. Fontaine, 'Unité et diversité', 468–9, on the weight of the past. Ammianus' complaints at 14.6.15, 18; 28.4.14, on which see D. Rohrbacher, 'Ammianus' Roman Digressions and the Audience of the *Res Gestae*' in J. Marincola, ed., *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* (Oxford, 2007), 468–72, who argues that Ammianus draws here on the satirical genre, cf. A. Cameron, 'Education and Literary Culture' in *CAH* XIII, 685. On experimentation, esp. by Christians, *ibid.*, 671. R. Scott, 'Byzantium in the sixth century and the beginning of Byzantine history writing', *Bysantinska Sällskapet Bulletin* 24 (2006) (= *idem, Byzantine Chronicles and the Sixth Century* [Farnham, 2012], II), 39–41, on the other hand stresses the remarkable confidence in their own age of sixth-century writers in Constantinople.

omit certain topics. This was, of course, part of a wider trend at the time to focus on genres in Byzantine literature more generally. But by 2000 she was less certain of her solution, while other scholars had noted just how much criticism could be included within the *Wars* and perhaps even the *Buildings*; in this volume, the chapter by Federico Montinaro is particularly relevant here.⁹ At the same time, she came to place greater emphasis on the pluralistic nature of late antique literature than on the ‘totalizing discourse’ that had been so prominent in the Sather lectures (delivered in 1986). Returning to the issue in more detail, she argued convincingly for not being bound by traditional divisions between ‘classical’ and ‘non-classical’ genres and in taking into account the pervasive importance of rhetoric in many literary forms.¹⁰ In an important contribution on another topic she continued to address the issue of genre, noting that it is no longer helpful to insist on a *genre* of apologetic, since, as Michael Frede had noted, it permeated a whole range of other literary genres, such as (ecclesiastical) history and chronicles; rather, she proposed, apologetic should be seen as a tone or method of argumentation. Éric Fournier builds on this approach in his consideration of Victor of Vita, in whose work he finds ample trace of apologetic.¹¹

Nevertheless, even if one can overestimate the usefulness of genre as a means of understanding ancient works, be they literary or artistic, the fact remains that genres undoubtedly did exist: conventions had been built up, sometimes clearly documented, and authors and artists continued both to adhere to them, and, on

⁹ A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985), 16–17, 24. More generally, M. Mullett, ‘The Madness of Genre’, *DOP* 46 (1992), esp. 237–8 on the period of Justinian; cf. A. Cameron, ‘Conclusions’, *AnTard* 8 (2000), 178 and the responses to J. Ljubarskij in *Symbolae Osloenses* 73 (1998) of P. Agapitos, 26, J. Duffy, 32 and E. Jeffreys, 38–9. Criticism in the *Wars*: G. Greatrex, ‘Procopius the Outsider?’ in D. Smythe, ed., *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider* (Aldershot, 2000), 215–18, J. Signes Codoñer, ‘Kaiserkritik in Prokops *Kriegsgeschichte*’, *Electrum* 9 (2003), 215–29. Cf. L. Miguélez-Cavero, ‘Invective at the Service of Encomium in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis’, *Mnemosyne* 63 (2010), 39–40, on both *psogos* (invective) and panegyric in the *Dionysiaca*.

¹⁰ Cameron, ‘New Themes and Styles’, 19, cf. eadem, ‘Culture Wars: Late Antiquity and Literature’ in C. Freu and S. Janniard, eds, *Libera curiositas. Mélanges en l’honneur de J.-M. Carrié* (forthcoming), emphasising the multiplicity of genres in the period, and M. Formisano, ‘Towards an aesthetic paradigm of Late Antiquity’, *AnTard* 15 (2007), 281–2. The Sather lectures were published as *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Berkeley, 1991); see (e.g.) 220–21 on the ‘totalizing discourse’.

¹¹ A. Cameron, ‘Apologetics in the Roman Empire – A Genre of Intolerance?’ in J.-M. Carrié and R. Lizzi Testa, eds, *Humana Sapit. Études d’Antiquité Tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini* (Turnhout, 2002), 219–27, cf. M. Frede, ‘Eusebius’ Apologetic Writings’ in M. Edwards, M. Goodman and S.R.F. Price, eds, *Apologetics in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1999), 224–5, Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 120–21 and van Nuffelen, ‘Theology versus Genre?’, 162–4. Note also A. Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA, 2014), 48–50, discussing various genres in Theodoret’s *Erastestis*.

occasion, consciously to adapt and transform them. In other words, the term retains its utility but must not be regarded as some sort of taxonomic straitjacket.¹² Furthermore, a threefold distinction should be made between (a) genres that existed at the time at which a work was composed, (b) genres as they evolved subsequently (in our period and later),¹³ and (c) modern categories. Numerous contributions to this volume are concerned with this distinction, notably Sergei Mariev, who convincingly shows that modern attempts to define 'the chronicle' do not necessarily correspond to what the Byzantines supposed chronicles were.¹⁴ It is a theme also raised by Geoffrey Dunn in his study of papal decretals, showing that the popes who authored the letters that subsequently were included in decretal collections had a different perception of their missives than did these later compilers: the new genre of the decretal developed subsequently and exercised a retrospective influence.¹⁵ Much the same applies to Iuliana Viezure's study of the *Collectio Avellana*, in which she shows that at a certain point letters were selected for and omitted from the collection in order to highlight the papacy's opposition to Arianism.

Given both the large number of genres that existed as well as the hybridisation that took place in Late Antiquity, it is often fruitful to return to first principles and to seek to determine to what genre (or genres) a particular work belongs. Such is the nature of several investigations presented here, such as that of Philippe Blaudeau, seeking to understand the complexities of Liberatus' not-so-brief *Breviarium*, or that of Tiphaine Moreau, detecting the influence of several genres in Ambrose's sermon *De Obitu Theodosii*.¹⁶ Colin Whiting's discussion of Jerome's *De viris illustribus* skilfully argues that a just appreciation of the work can only be achieved when one considers what sort of work it was and what its objectives were. Alice Christ, in her important analysis of diptychs, and in particular of one that may or may not depict Stilicho, focuses on the question of whether a distinction between

¹² Cf. the sensible observations of T. Whitmarsh, 'The Romance of Genre', in *idem*, *Beyond the Second Sophistic* (Berkeley, 2013), 37–41.

¹³ Cf. Johnson, Introduction, 5–6, on trying to understand the literature of the time on its own terms. A different defence of the concept of genre (in the context of poetry) may be found in G. Biagio Conte, *Genres and Readers*, tr. G. Most (Baltimore, 1994), 114–15.

¹⁴ See further Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 9–10, 16–19, 36 (on modern distinctions); cf. R. Scott, 'Byzantine Chronicles', *The Medieval Chronicle* 6 (2009), 34–9 (= *idem*, *Byzantine Chronicles*, I), focusing on Malalas.

¹⁵ Later compilers or chroniclers adopted a similar procedure, excerpting or rewriting earlier works, for instance of church history, and inserting elements culled from other genres, such as chronicles or even geographical works, thus transforming the original works. See G. Greatrex, 'Théodore le lecteur et son épitomateur anonyme du VII^e s.' in P. Blaudeau, ed., *L'historiographie tardo-antique et la transmission des savoirs* (forthcoming), considering the cases of both Theodore Lector and Pseudo-Zachariah of Mytilene. Blaudeau's book, the proceedings of a conference held in Angers in May–June 2012, will contain much of relevance to the present volume.

¹⁶ Cf. Cameron, 'Education and Literary Culture', 675.

‘public’ and ‘private’ diptychs is justified. In the legal sphere, the continuity in labour contracts observed by Christel Freu from the high empire through to Late Antiquity challenges assumptions about a decline in the conditions of labourers in the late empire, even if there were stylistic changes to the contracts and various different statuses co-existed. Also within the legal field, Marion Kruse plausibly detects traces of Justinian the historian – or perhaps antiquarian – in the prefaces to *Novels* issued in the 530s, in which the administration of the Roman republic is discussed. Building on this point, he finds traces of a lively debate about the Roman past carried on in a variety of works, including Jordanes’ *Romana*, a topic discussed recently by Shane Bjornlie in his wide-ranging monograph.¹⁷

In other cases, contributors are more interested in the blending of different genres: the articles of Wendy Mayer and Young Kim are complementary in this regard, in that they both highlight the bringing together of the literatures of health and heresy, of medicine and homiletics or heresiology. As Mayer rightly emphasises, moral and physical health were closely intertwined in the eyes of contemporaries. This is also relevant to the contribution of Shane Bjornlie, who discusses Cassiodorus’ collection of letters, the *Variae*, and sees in the compilation a *varietas* or *poikilia* that, despite its apparent heterogeneity and randomness, is felt to correspond to a moral order in the world and reflects, in this, the bureaucratic milieu from which it emerged. As he notes in his conclusion, in the two prefaces to his work Cassiodorus signals to his audience that he is drawing on both the genre of epistolography and on that of encyclopedism. Of a certain encyclopedism, or at any rate antiquarianism, we have noted traces already in the prefaces to Justinian’s *Novels*; the works of John Lydus are also relevant in this context, another product of a bureaucratic milieu.¹⁸ Both Conor Whately and Élodie Turquois discuss the same phenomenon, assessing the audience for technical works – or rather, perhaps, pseudo-technical – and concluding that there was indeed a considerable

¹⁷ S. Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527–554* (Cambridge, 2013), 82–123; cf. M. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past: Antiquarianism and Politics in the Age of Justinian* (London, 1992), 38–52. Kruse further develops his arguments in a more recent paper, ‘Competing histories in the sixth century’, given at the conference ‘Reinventing Procopius’ in Oxford, January 2014.

¹⁸ Cf. Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, 48–59, Maas, *John Lydus*, 28–37; Rohrbacher, ‘Ammianus’ Roman Digressions’, 472, sees a bureaucrat even in Ammianus as well. See also W. Liebeschuetz, ‘The Use of Pagan Mythology in the Christian Empire with Particular Reference to the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus’ in P. Allen and E. Jeffreys, eds, *The Sixth Century. End or Beginning?* (Brisbane, 1996), 83, on works of various genres that assemble elements from earlier writings. Cf. the encyclopedic works on which Epiphanius relied for his comparisons of heresies with animals: chapter 4 of this volume, p.61. Cameron, ‘Apologetics’, remarks that the sort of lists and catalogues of heresies to be found (e.g.) in Epiphanius ‘are the direct descendants of the so-called apologetic literature of the early Roman empire’, although, as Fournier shows, apologetic continued to have a role in the fifth century.

appetite among the Constantinopolitan elite for them, as is attested by Procopius' *Buildings* and military treatises.¹⁹ Various other contributions, such as those of Fournier, Blaudeau, Whiting and Kim, likewise have an interest in the audience for the works they discuss: this is, after all, a critical component of genre. It is not a coincidence that all are concerned with religious works, in which field the edification of the reader or audience might induce the author to blend or distil genres to get his point over efficiently and concisely.²⁰

A further aspect of genre pertains to changes within genres, and how authors adapted them to their own purposes: Edward Watts' chapter deftly explains how Himerius exploited the genre of the monody in the service of his own career; Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe is able to show how the ecclesiastical historians of Late Antiquity adopted markedly different attitudes to the involvement of Satan in the history of the church. Christopher Doyle explores the use of coinage emissions and the genre of panegyric to discredit usurpers and bolster legitimacy, while Ralph Mathisen compares epigraphic records and legal texts in an analysis of the self-perception of western provincials. Mariana Bodnaruk, for her part, focuses on honorific statues of the first half of the fourth century, arguing that different sections of the elite adopted different forms of display in order to highlight their own distinct claims to eminence. Charles Pazdernik investigates intertextuality within the genres of classical and classicising history; in this context, audience

¹⁹ In a useful contribution about genres, and in particular that of Byzantine literature in general, P. Odorico, 'L'auteur byzantin. Taxinomie et systématique: un essai de définition' in *idem* and P. Agapitos, eds, *Pour une «nouvelle» histoire de la littérature byzantine* (Paris, 2002), 78–80, argues that at least in Constantinople in the sixth century the audience to which authors addressed their works was limited; cf. B. Croke, 'Uncovering Byzantium's Historiographical Audience' in R. Macrides, ed., *History as Literature in Byzantium* (Farnham, 2010), 30–34. E. Jeffreys, 'Writers and Audiences in the Early Sixth Century' in Johnson, ed., *Greek Literature*, 132–8, argues for a rather wider audience, with broad tastes, in early sixth-century Constantinople; cf. C. Rapp, 'Literary Culture under Justinian', in M. Maas, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), 377–9 and (more generally) Alan Cameron, 'Poetry and Literary Culture in Late Antiquity' in Swain and Edwards, *Approaching Late Antiquity*, 346–8. Cf. M. Formisano, 'Late Latin Encyclopaedism' in J. König and G. Woolf, eds, *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2013), 201–11, on the emergence of new forms of technical literature in Latin in Late Antiquity, which may, despite ostensibly pragmatic aims, have remained the preserve of the elite.

²⁰ On secular *breviaria* and epitomes see T.M. Banchich, 'The Epitomizing Tradition in Late Antiquity' in Marincola, ed., *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*, 305–10; cf. chapter 5 of this volume, sections II–III, on Liberatus' place within this genre. See Cameron, 'Education and Literary Culture', 684, on didactic elements in histories, chronicles and epitomes; cf. Formisano, 'Towards an aesthetic paradigm', 283–4 on epitomes representing a textual dimension to a 'totalizing connection to the past'. See further Greatrex, 'Théodore le lecteur', text to n. 38; cf. *idem* with C. Horn and R. Phenix, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor. Church and War in Late Antiquity*, TTH vol. 55 (Liverpool, 2011), 50–53 on edification.

again becomes relevant, since one must suppose that his readers (and listeners) were aware of the implicit comparisons drawn between the speeches of Totila and Pericles and would make inferences on this basis.²¹

Our aim in this brief introduction has been to draw out just some of the common themes that emerge in this volume. To that end, we deliberately have not surveyed all the contributions in the order in which they are presented. In the table of contents we have divided them up, as is immediately apparent, into thematic sections that deal with particular genres or topics. Those interested in church history or Procopius can thus readily find what interests them. We hope, however, to have made a case in this introduction for transcending these divisions: as we have argued, genre is a useful device for categorising works, but it does not trump all other considerations.²² We are grateful to the contributors for having made good use of one another's contributions and for cross-referencing them. We hope thus to present the reader with a volume whose underlying theme permeates all of the chapters and thus helps to advance the general debate on how to perceive genre in Late Antiquity.

²¹ Cf. J. Marincola, 'The Rhetoric of History: Allusion, Intertextuality and Exemplarity in Historiographical Speeches' in D. Pausch, ed., *Stimmen der Geschichte. Funktionen von Reden in der antiken Historiographie* (Berlin, 2010), 287.

²² Cf. Cameron, 'New Themes', 20–23, noting the pervasiveness of rhetoric in the period, notably (but not exclusively) in panegyric and ekphrasis; Formisano, 'Towards an aesthetic paradigm', 282, notes problems in focusing on genre in Late Antiquity, arguing that one should concentrate rather on aspects of literature that supersede it.

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PART I

Homiletics and Disputation

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Chapter 1

Medicine in Transition: Christian Adaptation in the Later Fourth-Century East

Wendy Mayer

In the past decade and a half a number of groundbreaking studies have reshaped our understanding of the origins of formal health care and its locus in the eastern half of the Mediterranean in the fourth century. Among those that stand out are Merideth's doctoral dissertation, *Illness and Healing in the early Christian East*,¹ Crislip's earlier book, *From Monastery to Hospital*² and Ferngren's monograph *Medicine and Health Care in Early Christianity*.³ The transition from the treatment of sick monks in the Christian monastery, on the one hand, and of the incurably ill and impoverished aliens in the Christian hospice, on the other, into the new social genre of the hospital as a recognisable institution is a significant shift that can be attributed to Late Antiquity. This chapter takes our understanding of this development one step further. By exploring precisely what was shifting at the heart of this development it can be seen that the transformation of what was received from the Greco-Roman past in this respect is located within a persistent continuity with it. In particular, what will be argued here is that the birth of the hospital is the visible sign of a more subtle transformation that was taking place in the late antique east that led to one particular strand of ascetic thought and that found its fullest expression in the late fourth century in the genre of the homily.

This thesis arises out of a drive to make sense of the numerous medical metaphors and constant adduction of medical theory that permeate the homilies

¹ A.E. Merideth, *Illness and Healing in the Early Christian East* (diss. Princeton University, 1999).

² A. Crislip, *From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor, 2005). Crislip locates the original template for the hospital within Pachomian monastic infirmaries, supplementing Timothy Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore, 1997), who traces its development from Christian hospices (*xenones*) in Cappadocia and Constantinople.

³ G.B. Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care in Early Christianity* (Baltimore, 2009). Cf. the less rigorous, apologetic analysis of Andrew Dauntton-Fear, *Healing in the Early Church. The Church's Ministry of Healing and Exorcism from the First to the Fifth Century* (Milton Keynes, 2009).

of John Chrysostom (c.350–407)⁴ and rests on a number of key suppositions: (1) that into and through Late Antiquity, natural, particularly rational, medicine persisted as the primary mode of health care; (2) that in natural medicine, natural and ethical philosophy are intimately entwined; (3) that both strands of philosophy continued to be an important component in Greek *paideia*; (4) that the interdependence of psychical and somatic health and the key humoristic notion of health as balance inform the language and theory of medicine absorbed into one particular strand of Christianised philosophy; and (5) that, thus, in works that embrace this particular theological approach, medical language is employed in continuity with non-Christian medical (i.e. natural and ethical philosophical) theory. That is, within this strand the employment of such language functions not as ‘mere metaphor’ or rhetorical topos but references a genuine naturalistic illness and seeks its healing. The argument here is similar to that put forward by Kalleres regarding the activity of ritual speech in late antique spells and exorcism.⁵ It is only when we break down a post-Reformation denial of the activity of ritual speech or, in this case, a post-Enlightenment divorce of the body from the soul that we recover the way in which the world was viewed functionally in Late Antiquity.⁶ When this view is restored, in the hands of a proponent of asceticism centred in moderation such as John Chrysostom, the homily can no longer be read simply as Christian moral theology illustrated by medical metaphors. Instead, we are required to reframe it as a Christianised form of both medical treatise and medicinal therapy. In this respect the present thesis aligns with Elm’s argument that it is ultimately about the pursuit of true philosophy and that, as she argues for the emperor Julian and Gregory of Nazianzus,⁷ eastern ascetic writers and preachers in this particular strand and at this particular period in Late Antiquity are as much ‘sons of Hellenism’ as ‘fathers of the church’.⁸

⁴ For the only study to date, see U. Bachmann, *Medizinisches in den Schriften des griechischen Kirchenvaters Johannes Chrysostomos* (diss. University of Düsseldorf, 1984).

⁵ In D. Kalleres, *Demons in the Late Ancient City: Christian Exorcism in Theory and Practice in Antioch, Jerusalem and Milan* (Berkeley, forthcoming), esp. Chapter 3.

⁶ This point is made with regard to the first two centuries of Christianity by Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven, 1995), esp. 3–37. Other modern dichotomies inoperative in Late Antiquity are the divorce of science from philosophy and philosophy from religion. See now, e.g., P.J. van der Eijk, *Medicine and Philosophy in Classical Antiquity. Doctors and Philosophers on Nature, Soul, Health and Disease* (Cambridge, 2005).

⁷ Susanna Elm, *Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church: Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome* (Berkeley, 2012).

⁸ The continuity with earlier natural philosophical traditions is supported by T. Barton, *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics and Medicine under the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor, 1994), who argues that the primary function of classical and Hellenistic medical treatises is rhetorical: persuading the audience that the author’s particular knowledge is authoritative (the true *sophia*).

Medicine and Philosophy: Virtue and Somatic Health

The three studies cited above, among others, are instrumental in arriving at this understanding. Merideth's work, on which Ferngren draws, argues for a hierarchy of resort in the treatment of the ill, at the top of which persisted, during at least the first five centuries, natural, primarily rational,⁹ Greek medicine.¹⁰ While folkloristic, charismatic and supernatural therapies were available, if there was an *iatros* in the city or town, it was that practitioner to whom, if one could not resolve the illness at home, one first resorted.¹¹ As the letters of the two Gregories and of Basil and John Chrysostom all show, regardless of what they might say to others, they themselves all relied for treatment of their own frequent illnesses on physicians and their therapies.¹² To the findings of these scholars can now be added the fruits of Crislip's latest avenue of research, *Thorns in the Flesh*.¹³ Here, expanding on the work of Merideth (Chapter 4) and drawing on his own earlier work,¹⁴ he explores the nexus between health, illness and sanctity and the different ways in which sickness, in particular, was accorded meaning in fourth- to sixth-century asceticism. The themes that are advanced in all of these works, like their conclusions, are clearly interrelated. Of particular interest is their argument for the uniqueness of the Christian assignment of moral meaning to illness and concomitant belief in its absence in Greco-Roman thought, and their argument that side-by-side with its expression in action (charitable works → hospital) the meaning-making itself was primarily theological or discursive.¹⁵ That is, they all argue that the sick body is employed as an analogy for the sick Church, the body of Christ.¹⁶ To use Merideth's words in reference to the first of two distinct discourses that she identifies: 'In this [Christian] discourse, the language of disease does not refer to actual bodily ills and physical suffering. Rather, disease becomes a primary metaphor for all forms of religious and social deviance and disruption.'¹⁷ Where all of these works fall short is their difficulty in moving past the Cartesian body-soul divide and their failure to appreciate just how blurred the

⁹ See Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care*, 5–6.

¹⁰ Merideth, *Illness and Healing*, 71–87.

¹¹ Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care*, 39–40.

¹² Merideth, *Illness and Healing*, 75–81; W. Mayer, 'Madness in the Works of John Chrysostom: A Snapshot from Late Antiquity', in H. Perdicoyianni-Paleologou, ed., *The Concept of Madness from Homer to Byzantium: History and Aspects* (Amsterdam, forthcoming).

¹³ A. Crislip, *Thorns in the Flesh: Illness and Sanctity in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia, 2013).

¹⁴ See n. 2 above.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Crislip, *Thorns*, 92; and, especially, Merideth, *Illness and Healing*, 154–6.

¹⁶ See esp. Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care*, 29–31.

¹⁷ Merideth, *Illness and Healing*, 153. The second discourse, its inverse, welcomes suffering and constructs somatic illness as the cure of the soul. Both ideas, along with variations, are explored at length in Crislip, *Thorns*.

boundaries were in the classical and late antique Greco-Roman world between moral philosophy and the strand of natural philosophy identified as medicine.¹⁸ As Crislip himself points out, and as Smith has argued at length,¹⁹ for the inhabitant of the late antique world both body and soul are material – souls just happen to be fine material – and the health of both is intimately connected.²⁰ So natural medical concerns with the humours of the body and their balance, which is achieved through self-control of diet and other factors, are intimately connected with concern in ethical philosophy with the achievement of virtue (the ideal spiritual health) via control of the passions, which express physically although they are functionally part of the soul, because the soul is embodied.²¹ In both we find the constant employment of a language of moderation or self-control (*sophrosyne*, *enkrateia*), balance (*metria*) and intemperance or imbalance (*akrasia*, *ametria*), with the two philosophical disciplines brought together by the soul, but being concerned with different emphases.²² So Crislip talks of a philosophical-medical-ethical *koine* so widespread in the fourth century that readers familiar with it would have regarded as commonsensical Athanasius' construction of Antony's extraordinary physical health in the *Vita Antonii* as signifying his ascetic merit – that is, that the health of his body reflected and was linked to the health of his soul.²³

This commonsensical view of the interconnectedness of body and soul and its consequence – that spiritual sickness is not just the domain of moral philosophy, but is as much a medical issue requiring therapy – emerges clearly in my recent study of madness in John Chrysostom's thought.²⁴ In mental illness the boundaries that are habitually drawn between medicine and ethical philosophy thin substantially and here it is easier to see how what appear to be two disciplines are really two sides of the same knowledge domain and inseparable.²⁵ John draws directly from

¹⁸ So Merideth, *Illness and Healing*, 156, describes the role of medicine and philosophy as analogous (the first heals disease of the body, the second of the soul). This same division is reflected in History of Medicine literature into the 1990s. For the new direction in this field based on the interrelationship of 'philosophy' and 'medicine' see the Von Humboldt research project headed by Philip van der Eijk: *Medicine of the Mind, Philosophy of the Body*, <http://www.klassphil.hu-berlin.de/avh-professur/about/full> (accessed 27 June 2013).

¹⁹ G. Smith, *Very Thin Things: Towards a Cultural History of the Soul in Roman Antiquity* (diss. Harvard University, 2005).

²⁰ Crislip, *Thorns in the Flesh*, 62.

²¹ Here and throughout this chapter the focus is on an imbalance (endogenous) aetiology of disease (epitomised by Hippocrates and Galen). This is not the only aetiology operative in classical Greco-Roman thought, which also embraced an invasive (exogenous) aetiology, and variations on both. See Martin, *Corinthian Body*, 146–62; Meredith, *Illness and Healing*, 24; Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care*, 18–20.

²² Van der Eijk, *Medicine and Philosophy*, 130–33.

²³ Crislip, *Thorns*, 63.

²⁴ See Mayer, 'Madness' (n. 10).

²⁵ A view now supported by a substantial number of the chapters in W.V. Harris, ed., *Mental Disorders in the Classical World* (Leiden, 2013).

this thoughtworld in his adoption of a Galenist humoristic understanding of the soul–body, where illness is deviation from a norm (*ametria*), and of a Platonic tripartite division of the soul (rational, appetitive and irascible), which is physically distributed (in brain, heart and liver).²⁶ He similarly adopts Plato’s image of the mind as the charioteer of the soul, such that balance is achieved when the rational aspect is in control of the other two components. Like Plato in the *Phaedrus*, he places a positive value on the madness caused when a particular passion (love) slips its reins under the external influence of the divine beauty (= God), leading to the claim that this results not in illness but in a hyper-healthy state that is exceptional. When it comes to the other passions, John’s approach is largely Galenist, with any loss of control of the reins by the rational faculty (the *nous* or *dianoia*) viewed as leading to a state of unreason which manifests physiologically.²⁷ His categorisation of madness into epilepsy, melancholia, phrenitis and mania is also straightforward and deviates from earlier medical literature only in his attribution of melancholia, and perhaps phrenitis, to the category of voluntary rather than involuntary illness. Body, soul and health are clearly interconnected in John’s thought and his view is firmly embedded in classical Greek *paideia*, indicating the continuing centrality of ethical and natural philosophy to the educational curriculum.²⁸

How this inherited thoughtworld feeds into John’s preaching and his approach to poverty, both voluntary and involuntary (which eventually leads back to the rise of the hospital) lies at the heart of the intersection of moral and natural philosophy. For John, as a disease madness embraces two kinds of psycho-somatic illness, one voluntary and one involuntary, although there is overlap between these two categories. A person experiencing involuntary madness, such as epilepsy or periodic bouts of mania, is not culpable for their actions. It is when the madness originates in an imbalance of the soul, that is, when the passions slip the control of the rational faculty, as in the case of drunkenness or anger, that the moral dimension is engaged. Both categories of madness appear similar in terms of their physiological symptoms. Both are illnesses. For John the most significant difference is that whereas the first kind of madness is largely intractable and resistant to treatment, the second is treatable and can be resolved. What is required is for the individual to learn to restrain the passions through practising *sophrosyne* or self-restraint,

²⁶ The following summarises the findings in Mayer, ‘Madness’, although note that while in some works John’s division of the soul is Platonic, in others it is closer to Aristotelean. See R. Laird, *Mindset, Moral Choice and Sin in the Anthropology of John Chrysostom* (Strathfield, 2012).

²⁷ For the inverse view, that the passions stem from the body and then poison the soul, see Joh. Chrys. *Ad Stag.* 3 (PG 47, 491.11–31).

²⁸ There is some debate as to whether by Late Antiquity the medical writers and philosophers of the classical and early imperial periods were studied directly or via handbooks and commentaries. Regarding the latter likelihood see, among other articles in the same volume, P. van der Eijk, ‘Principles and Practices of Compilation and Abbreviation in the Medical “Encyclopedias” of Late Antiquity’, in M. Horster and C. Reitz (eds), *Condensing Texts – Condensed Texts* (Stuttgart, 2010), 519–54.

so that the soul–body is restored to health. Here we arrive at the nexus between health, both spiritual and physical, and moderate asceticism. For John this is the spiritual and pastoral programme that drives his preaching in both Antioch and Constantinople. Ascetic excess is to be admired, but is ultimately harmful. The health of both individual and city lies in everyone ideally consuming only what they need to survive – that is, living in voluntary poverty – and distributing their excess to those in society who do not have enough resources to be self-sufficient, the indigent poor.²⁹

It is noteworthy that the same promotion of moderate asceticism, although with a divergent construction of the meaning of ascetic sickness and sanctity, is identified by both Crislip and Simkins with regard to the *Vita Syncletica*,³⁰ and by Simkins with regard to the overall agenda of the *Historia Lausiaca*.³¹ The author of the latter, Palladius, who in the *Historia Lausiaca* according to Simkins moves asceticism from the desert into the city and into a life of moderation engaged in charitable work, was, it is to be noted, both an intimate of John Chrysostom's during the latter's episcopate and received a very similar education.³² But this is jumping ahead. The next step is to take up the idea that, within this framework of moderate asceticism, moral theology is thinly veiled medical theory, to the extent that for certain preachers of this period the homily operates as a medical (that is, natural-ethical philosophical) treatise directed at spiritual health.

The Homily as Medical Treatise: Preaching Holistic Health

That there is a strong connection between the homily, psychagogy and asceticism in the east in the fourth century is not surprising, if we accept Maxwell's thesis that in that portion of the Mediterranean world the Christian sermon arose to a large degree out of the popular preaching of wandering Cynics.³³ Psychagogy or training the soul is the chief goal of philosophical instruction for many, if not all,

²⁹ On this point see Aideen Hartney, *John Chrysostom and the Transformation of the City* (London, 2004); P. Allen, B. Neil and W. Mayer, *Preaching Poverty in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Realities* (Leipzig, 2009), 69–111; and E. Costanzo, *Harbor for the Poor: A Missiological Analysis of Almsgiving in the View and Practice of John Chrysostom* (Eugene, 2013). These themes are not unique to Chrysostom. See B. Matz, *Patristics and Catholic Social Thought: Hermeneutical Models for a Dialogue* (Notre Dame, 2014), Chapter 2.

³⁰ Crislip, *Thorns*, 100–106; R. Simkins, *Palladius and Ascetic Social Engagement* (diss., Catholic University of America, 2013), 126–56. For this fifth-century ps-Athanasian text see *PG* 28, 1487–558.

³¹ Simkins, *Palladius*.

³² See D. Katos, *Palladius of Helenopolis: The Origenist Advocate* (Oxford, 2011).

³³ See J. Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication in Late Antiquity: John Chrysostom and his Congregation in Antioch* (Cambridge, 2006), 11–41.

of the philosophical schools,³⁴ while the adoption by Cynic philosophers of a life of voluntary poverty (asceticism) is well documented.³⁵ The connection between some styles of preaching and exhortations to a life of simplicity and moderation, particularly in the mouths of preachers who are themselves inclined towards an ascetic life, is thus a natural development.³⁶

Asterius of Amasea (active in Cappadocia c.380–400), offers one example of a preacher who owed a strong debt to Hellenistic moral philosophy, specifically Cynical-Stoical preaching, and for whom the boundary between philosophical and Christian sermon was particularly thin.³⁷ In his homilies on Lazarus and the rich man (*hom.* 1) and on fasting (*hom.* 14), the themes of virtue, moderation and both physical and spiritual health are particularly prominent. So Asterius opened *hom.* 1 with the exhortation that God concerns himself with instructing us in hating evil and loving virtue, passing on the lessons of good conduct (*politeia*), advancing us by both word and deed in the adoption of a good and god-loving life. This involves instruction in turning away from wealth to love a philanthropic disposition and the kind of poverty that is associated with righteousness.³⁸ The concept that neither wealth nor poverty is in itself harmful to the soul, but rather how a person uses each, quickly emerges in references to imbalance and the bad use of wealth, on the one hand, and to using in a balanced way only what is essential, on the other,³⁹ leading Asterius to discourse at length on the use of clothing within modest limits.⁴⁰ Similarly, he made it clear that it was not the person who is poor out of necessity who is virtuous, but the person who voluntarily moderates their mindset (that is, ensures that the rational faculty of the soul controls their passions).⁴¹ Broader philosophical ideas emerge in his statements about the indulgent soul forgetting that it is yoked to the body and that the rich man, though endowed with reason, is

³⁴ For an overview see P.R. Kolbet, *Augustine and the Cure of Souls: Revising a Classical Ideal* (Notre Dame, 2010), 24–61, who emphasises the intimate connection between philosophical and oratorical training.

³⁵ See W.D. Desmond, *The Greek Praise of Poverty: Origins of Ancient Cynicism* (Notre Dame, 2006).

³⁶ For important background see S. Rubenson, 'Philosophy and Simplicity: The Problem of Classical Education in Early Christian Biography', in T. Hägg and P. Rousseau (eds), *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2000), 110–39.

³⁷ C. Datema, ed., *Asterius of Amasea. Homilies I–XIV* (Leiden, 1970), xxvii–xxviii, and, regarding his indebtedness also to other fourth-century Cappadocian preachers, xxviii–xxxii.

³⁸ *Hom.* 1 1.1–2 (Datema, 7.3–11).

³⁹ See, e.g., *hom.* 1 2.1 (Datema, 7.18–24).

⁴⁰ *Hom.* 1 2.2–5.1 (Datema, 7–9), where he concluded his excursus on wealthy clothing with the statement that luxury is inimical to the virtuous life.

⁴¹ *Hom.* 1 10.1–2 (Datema, 13). For a discussion of how the role accorded the mindset in the works of John Chrysostom and his contemporaries is itself in continuity with earlier Greek thought, see Laird, *Mindset*.

like an irrational beast.⁴² Towards the end of the homily, as equilibrium is restored, with the proud rich man humbled and the humble poor man exalted, Asterius explicitly evoked the parable as a kind of medicine: 'It is fitting for the person who is intelligent and thinks of the future to consider the parable a prophylactic medicine for sickness, and so to flee experience of evils of this kind by leading a disciplined life that is loving and feeling towards other people as a foundation for the life to come.'⁴³ In *hom.* 1 the themes of salvation and of the poor person as the image of God are present, but almost sidelined in favour of this discourse on soul-health, moderation and virtue.

Similarly, in *hom.* 14 Asterius focused on the right attitude towards fasting and the attendant benefits of self-discipline to the soul and to the maintenance of a healthy body. Here he dives straight in with a largely philosophical discussion about the nature and relationship of the body and soul and its purpose (and capacity), through suppression of fleshly desires and the stomach, to draw as close to God as possible.⁴⁴ This allowed him to introduce the idea that Lent is a super-healthy time, the teacher of restraint and mother of virtue,⁴⁵ as well as the idea that the disciplined life both recovers a protological Edenic status and is an image of the incorrupt life that awaits us in the future.⁴⁶ These themes are expounded at length with frequent use of the language of *enkrateia*,⁴⁷ although any conscious resemblance to a natural-ethical philosophical treatise dissolves towards the close of the homily as he diverges onto the fasting of the Jews and the way in which the Jewish festivals foretold the Christian mysteries.⁴⁸

In both the treatises and homilies of John Chrysostom (active in Syrian Antioch and Constantinople 381–404), we see frequent adduction of the same themes treated by Asterius, but situated within a broader application of medical-ethical theory. For John, as suggested above, there is mutual influence between the sick body and the diseased soul into which he introduced the activity of other thin-material entities, namely daemons, a reality of day-to-day life that similarly draws on earlier classical theories. While their influence could manifest in physical symptoms, they were not viewed by him as the cause of psycho-somatic illness, but either as a symptom or side effect,⁴⁹ and the restoration of psychic balance has the capacity to neutralise them. This is the central message of his treatise

⁴² *Hom.* 1 5.5 (Datema, 10) and 6.2–3 (Datema, 10–11).

⁴³ *Hom.* 1 12.1 (Datema, 14–15).

⁴⁴ *Hom.* 14 1.1–4 (Datema, 205).

⁴⁵ *Hom.* 14 2.1 (Datema, 206). At 2.3–5 Asterius outlines at length the physical benefits.

⁴⁶ *Hom.* 14 4.1–3, 12.1–4 (Datema, 207–8, 214–15). For these ideas in ascetic literature of the fourth century see Crislip, *Thorns*, 36–58.

⁴⁷ For example, *hom.* 14 6.1, 8.1, 10.1, 10.6, 11.2 (Datema, 209–10, 212–13).

⁴⁸ *Hom.* 14 14–17 (Datema, 216–19).

⁴⁹ Although see Joh. Chrys. *Contra ebr. et de resurr.* (PG 50, 434.37–435.2) where he appears to say that the madness of the daemon-possessed is caused by the capriciousness of the daemon. It may be that he swings back and forth on this point.

addressed to the monk Stagirus,⁵⁰ which is in effect a promotion of the theory that it is not his epilepsy that is the problem, but his excessive despair (*athymia*).⁵¹ By reining in his despair and restoring rational control over this excess passion he will effect a change in his attitude towards his suffering. This same, essentially Stoic, message is transmitted in a treatise in the form of a letter to another ascetic suffering excessive despair, Olympias.⁵² It is interesting to note, in this latter case, that after enjoining this mode of therapy upon Olympias over a three-year period, out of recognition that it is ineffectual he in the end encourages her to resort to physicians and their medicines.⁵³ Clearly for John it is not just the philosopher or pastor who is the doctor of the soul, but also the physician, and this shows how closely in his thoughtworld the sick soul and the sick body are intermingled. As with Asterius, there is a natural connection here between ideas found in natural-ethical philosophical treatises that focus on virtue ethics and the Christian ideal of virtue located in moderate asceticism. Where the chief difference lies is that in the latter the spiritual health and disease of the individual is intimately connected with the divine economy and salvation.

That medical concerns in this broad sense similarly drive John's preaching can be demonstrated by his homilies against the Anomoeans, which have recently received renewed attention.⁵⁴ Merideth and Laird read his claims that these heretics are mad and sick as metaphoric and as part of a rhetorical strategy, but as these same scholars recognize, these 11 sermons are ripe with medical advice and language.⁵⁵ The point to be made here is that John consciously uses such advice and language to appeal to an embedded mindset. He expected that, when he claimed that prophets used a particular technique to cure the Jews of their sickness or that those who adhere to an Anomoean view of the Trinity were ill, his listeners automatically understood that he was referring to a genuine naturalistic psychosomatic illness. This is similarly the case when Gregory of Nazianzus delivered orations on the lives of his brother Caesarius (*Or.* 7), who was both a physician and aspiring ascetic (Christian philosopher), and of his friend Basil (*Or.* 43), the famous bishop-ascetic and founder of a proto-hospital, the *basileia*. Both, while ostensibly funeral orations, are in the mode of a philosophic *bios* and the medical-ethical ideas they contain conform to what John Chrysostom promoted in

⁵⁰ *Ad Stag.* (PG 47, 423–94).

⁵¹ See the discussion in A. Samellas, *Alienation: The Experiences of the Eastern Mediterranean (50–600 A.D.)* (Berlin, 2010), 160–86; Mayer, 'Madness'.

⁵² Joh. Chrys. *Quod nemo laed.* (SC 103).

⁵³ Joh. Chrys. *Ep.* 17 *ad Olymp.* 1.b (SC 13bis, 368.17–23).

⁵⁴ See R. Laird, 'John Chrysostom and the Anomoeans: Shaping an Antiochene Perspective on Christology', in W. Mayer and B. Neil, eds, *Religious Conflict from Early Christianity to the Rise of Islam* (Berlin, 2013), 129–49; C. Shepardson, *Controlling Contested Places: Late Antique Antioch and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy* (Berkeley, 2014), 116–26; Merideth, *Illness and Healing*, 164–70.

⁵⁵ See esp. Laird, 'Chrysostom and the Anomoeans'.

his own sermons. In *Or.* 43, in particular, we find the ideas that the true, Christian, philosophy enjoins a life of simplicity and philanthropy,⁵⁶ and that dissenters are members of the body of Christ who manifest an illness of the mind and soul and who thus need to be cured in order to restore that communal body to health and balance. Similarly, Gregory concluded *Or.* 7 with a combined discourse on the soul and exhortation to live a life of virtue, both of which he describes as medicine,⁵⁷ while in *Or.* 43 he claimed that Basil, by the example of his own virtue and discourses, stemming from a medical magnanimity, softened and treated those opposed to him. Through carefully tailored treatment, Basil led them all to a life of virtue, to which only those who rejected this therapy through an incurable evil were resistant.⁵⁸ Basil's entire life in this oration is an exemplar of, and exhortation to, virtue and simplicity.

To return to John Chrysostom's diagnosis and suggested treatment of the heterodox, it is no coincidence that in this series of sermons John on three occasions referenced the prayer for the mentally ill that was at this period a regular element in the Antiochene eucharistic liturgy,⁵⁹ since throughout these homilies he referred to the Anomoean's *mania* and *aponoia*.⁶⁰ Their madness, engendered by arrogance, he equated with the delirium of phrenitis, which elsewhere he ascribed to an imbalance of humours arising from carelessness,⁶¹ both requiring treatment.⁶² It results in a severe tumour or swelling of the soul's rational component, the mind (*dianoia*), equivalent to a swollen ulcer on the soul.⁶³ Laird, who examines the medical ideas in these homilies in depth, argues that it is a disorder not precisely of the will, but of the mindset (*gnome*).⁶⁴ Thus humility, the soul's healthy state,⁶⁵ can only be restored through careful treatment of this faculty. John's sermons in this series are both in themselves therapy and treatise on how his listeners, through applying the prescribed therapies, can become physicians themselves and thus aid him in healing their sick brothers and sisters, thus restoring balance and health to their community. Prayer, love of neighbour, virtue, friendship and discipline are

⁵⁶ See Greg. Naz. *Or.* 7.10, 20 (SC 405, 202–6, 230–32); *Or.* 43.38, 41, 63 (SC 384, 210, 214, 260–64) re the connection between Christian philosophy, virtue and balance (*metria*) and on philanthropy as a consequence of philosophy.

⁵⁷ *Or.* 7.21–23 (SC 405, 232–40).

⁵⁸ *Or.* 43.41 (SC 384, 212–14).

⁵⁹ See Joh. Chrys., *De incompr. hom.* 3 (SC 28bis, 214.346–216.354, 224.465–474) and *hom.* 4 (SC 28bis, 254.324–256.346). The prayer is mentioned by John on only two other occasions: *In Matt. hom.* 71/72 (PG 58, 666); and *In 2 Cor. hom.* 18 (PG 61, 527.20–24). For a discussion of this element in the liturgy, see Mayer, 'Madness.'

⁶⁰ For example, *De incompr. hom.* 1; *hom.* 2; *hom.* 3 (SC 28bis, 116.188–90, 118.223, 120.233, 124.278, 128.326–7, 156–8, 166.293, 182.491, 188.24, 190.62–192.63).

⁶¹ *In Thess. hom.* 9 (PG 62, 452.13–25).

⁶² *De incompr. hom.* 2 (SC 28bis, 182.490–95).

⁶³ *De incompr. hom.* 2 (SC 28bis, 182.494–508).

⁶⁴ See Laird, 'Chrysostom and the Anomoeans', 136, 139–40; and *idem*, *Mindset*.

⁶⁵ See Laird, 'Chrysostom and the Anomoeans', 137–8.

all treatments to be applied with some urgency so that the dislocated bone, the Anomoeans, might be restored to its place in the Christian body.⁶⁶

In a similar way, throughout John Chrysostom's homilies we constantly observe the explicit and self-conscious expression of the belief that, like the philosophical teacher, the pastor is doctor of the soul, that the church is the physician's surgery and the homily his primary therapeutic method.⁶⁷ It is this concept, that the homily does not just convey medical (that is, natural-ethical philosophical) theory,⁶⁸ but is itself a mode of medical therapy, that is examined next.

Preaching as Medical Therapy

The idea of the priest or bishop, and therefore preacher, as doctor of the soul is neither original to Christianity nor new,⁶⁹ but has only recently received sustained attention. Kolbet argues that in his preaching Augustine consciously adapts this received Hellenistic-philosophical ideal,⁷⁰ and Merideth and Ferngren both view it as an essential aspect of the way in which a medical idea from the classical world was adopted and transformed in early Christianity and late antiquity.⁷¹ Rylaarsdam's magisterial study of the embeddedness in rhetoric and philosophy of John Chrysostom's theology, and Van Veller's doctoral research on his construction of Paul's Jewishness, both independently show how this ideal plays a fundamental role in the approach to preaching of John Chrysostom.⁷²

⁶⁶ Laird, 'Chrysostom and the Anomoeans', 138–43.

⁶⁷ See Laird, 'Chrysostom and the Anomoeans', 130.

⁶⁸ On the centrality of virtue ethics to John Chrysostom's pedagogy see P.-W. Lai, *John Chrysostom and the Hermeneutics of Exemplar Portraits*, (diss., Durham University, UK, 2010).

⁶⁹ On the philosopher as doctor of the soul see, e.g., Epict. *Diss.* 3.23; Plato, *Phaedr.* 261a, 270b; and, for Hellenistic development of the idea, M. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton, 1994); H.O. Maier, 'Clement of Alexandria and the Care of the Self', *JAAR* 62/3 (1994), 720–25; Kolbet, *Cure of Souls*, 41–61.

⁷⁰ Kolbet, *Cure of Souls*, 10–12.

⁷¹ Merideth, *Illness and Healing*, 154–70; Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care*, 29–31.

⁷² D. Rylaarsdam, *John Chrysostom's Divine Pedagogy: The Coherence of his Theology and Preaching* (Oxford, 2014); C. Van Veller, *Preaching Paul: John Chrysostom and the Construction of a Non-Jewish Christian Identity* (diss. Boston University, forthcoming). Some of the same points that they make are touched on by Laird, 'Chrysostom and the Anomoeans', esp. 130, 140 and 147–9; T. Karmann, 'Johannes Chrysostomus und der Neunizänismus. Eine Spurensuche in ausgewählten Predigten des antiochenischen Presbyters', *Sacris Erudiri* 51 (2012), 79–81; and C.L. de Wet, 'The Priestly Body: Power-discourse and Identity in John Chrysostom's *De sacerdotio*', *Religion & Theology* 18 (2011), 1–29 at 11–12.

Van Veller points to the intimate relationship in some strands of Greek *paideia* between virtue (philosophy) and speaking (rhetoric), to the point that speaking is viewed as indicative of the soul of the speaker. Within this tradition, the trained preacher both conveys truths about virtue and is himself an exemplar.⁷³ As we have just seen, some of these same ideas are expressed in Gregory of Nazianzus' oration on Basil. To this is to be added John Chrysostom's own reflections on preaching in *De Sac.* 4, where he argued that the role of the priest is to train the body of Christ to perfect health and beauty. When it comes to the diseases to which this body is prone, teaching by word of mouth (namely, preaching) is a holistic and multi-pronged therapy. In response to false doctrine, in particular, which is caused by failure to pursue a middle, balanced path, it replaces drugs, surgery, diet and climate.⁷⁴ For the priest-physician such treatment, however, requires careful judgement and considerable subtlety. So in Book 2 John reflected at length on the requirement that the patient accept the treatment, if he/she is to be cured, and that the treatment be carefully matched to both disease and patient.⁷⁵ In this regard John closely follows the classical understanding of psychagogy, namely that there are different kinds of souls and that each will find different kinds of speech persuasive.⁷⁶ As both Van Veller and Rylaarsdam show through analysis of his homilies on the Pauline epistles, John pursues his ethical healing in this manner, not just through accommodating his speech to the attention span of his listeners and summarising his previous points, but through the varied use of different modes of speech, using the apostle Paul as his model.⁷⁷ He identifies in Paul's rhetorical performance 'a purposeful modification of the passions' intended to move them towards a variety of emotion, 'all with the goal of persuading them towards submitting to correction.' For John, this intentional unpacking of 'each word to reveal Paul's strategic means of diagnosing and treating the condition of [his audience's] souls' has its own therapeutic purpose. By exegeting Paul and overtly reflecting on the techniques that Paul employs for the cure of souls in his epistles, John in the exegetical portion of his homilies covertly brings about the receptivity of his own listeners' souls, so that they will be open to the treatment he himself applies in the ethical portion of the homily.⁷⁸

⁷³ Van Veller, *Preaching Paul*, Chapter 2. On the idea of rhetoric and philosophy as interconnected in Hellenistic thought see Kolbet, *Cure of Souls*, 45, 84–5.

⁷⁴ Joh. Chrys. *De sac.* 4.3 (SC 272, 248–52).

⁷⁵ *De sac.* 2.3–4 (SC 272, 110–16).

⁷⁶ Kolbet, *Cure of Souls*, 31 (a theory derived from Plato, *Phaedr.*). See also Rylaarsdam, *John Chrysostom's Divine Pedagogy*, Chapters 1 and 2.

⁷⁷ C. Van Veller, 'John Chrysostom's Analysis of Paul as a Preacher', delivered at the annual conference, Society of Biblical Literature, Chicago, 16–20 November 2012; Rylaarsdam, *John Chrysostom's Divine Pedagogy*, Chapters 2 and 4–6.

⁷⁸ Van Veller, *op. cit.*

Central to that therapy is the strategy of adaptability or accommodation,⁷⁹ which includes, among other techniques, the application of harsh and gentle speech,⁸⁰ a commonplace in both medical and ethical-philosophical theory.⁸¹ The latter is a therapy John also elicited when he discussed how doctors typically approach patients suffering from mental illness. So gentle speech is applied when addressing the ravings associated with phrenitis on one occasion; shock therapy, on another.⁸² The first, Kalleres points out, is also used by him to address illnesses of the soul.⁸³ In the case of phrenitis, it prevents further stimulation of the already excited mind-soul; in the case of the sick soul, it softens the soul and makes it receptive to treatment. Gregory of Nazianzus evoked this same therapeutic ideal when he claimed in *Or.* 43 that Basil, by the example of his own virtue and discourses, softened and treated those opposed to him.⁸⁴ It is this same treatment that John exhorts his audience to apply to the Anomoeans – that they address the latter's delusions with gentle speech and reasonableness.⁸⁵

The Christian ethical and soteriological framework in the service of which these techniques are employed has deliberately been played down here in order to highlight the debt John Chrysostom owes to his secular education and to classical theories of psychagogy.⁸⁶ As Van Veller and Rylaarsdam both show, he in fact obscures this not inconsiderable debt behind an explicit dismissal of classical *paideia* in favour of the *apaideia* of Paul and the apostles.⁸⁷ The teachings of Plato and other Greek philosophers on the soul, as he tells his audience in a homily on the Gospel of John, are the product of simpletons and the ravings of madmen.⁸⁸

⁷⁹ Rylaarsdam, *John Chrysostom's Divine Pedagogy*, demonstrates the centrality of this principle to both John's theology and psychagogy.

⁸⁰ C. Van Veller, 'Chrysostom's analysis of Paul's "Gentle" Rhetoric about the Jews and Judaism', delivered at the annual conference, Society of Biblical Literature, Chicago, 19–22 November 2011; D. Rylaarsdam, 'Painful Preaching: John Chrysostom and the Philosophical Tradition of Guiding Souls', *StPat* 41 (2006) 463–8; *idem*, *John Chrysostom's Divine Pedagogy*, Chapter 6.

⁸¹ Kolbet, *Cure of Souls*, 30–38; Rylaarsdam, *John Chrysostom's Divine Pedagogy*, Chapter 2.

⁸² For shock therapy see Joh. Chrys. *Adv. Iud. or.* 5 (PG 48, 880); for gentle speech, *De incompr. hom.* 2 (SC 28bis, 182.490–3).

⁸³ D. Kalleres, *Exorcising the Devil to Silence Christ's Enemies: Ritualized Speech Practices in Late Antique Christianity* (diss. Brown University, 2002), 94–5.

⁸⁴ See n. 58.

⁸⁵ *De incompr. hom.* 2 (n. 82).

⁸⁶ Rylaarsdam, *John Chrysostom's Divine Pedagogy*, presents a systematic demonstration of how all four aspects form a coherent whole in John's thought.

⁸⁷ Van Veller, *Preaching Paul*, Chapter 2; Rylaarsdam, *John Chrysostom's Divine Pedagogy*, Chapter 1.

⁸⁸ Joh. Chrys. *In Ioh. hom.* 63/62 (PG 59, 352.19–25), where Plato and Pythagoras are adduced by name in opposition to the apostles (the true philosophers). Cf. *In I Cor. hom.* 7 (PG 60, 62–3).

It is the teachings about virtue which are conveyed through the *apaideia* of the apostles that inform the ‘true philosophy’ into which he inducts his listeners. It is in this light that the constant references throughout his homilies to medical practice and theory in relation to his own homiletic techniques⁸⁹ are to be read. For John Chrysostom, and probably also for a preacher like Asterius of Amasea, every word that flows from his mouth constitutes part of a carefully crafted treatment, not just for the soul, but for the entire ensouled body.⁹⁰

Implications

At the beginning of this chapter the stated intent was to tease out precisely what was shifting at the heart of the development of the hospital and to locate one particular strand in the transformation of what was received from the Greco-Roman past in this respect within a persistent continuity with it. It was also suggested that it would be John Chrysostom’s preaching and his approach to poverty, both voluntary and involuntary, that would eventually lead us back to that development. In that context the similarly moderate asceticism espoused in the *Vita Syncretica* and, according to Simkin’s new reading of it, in the *Historia Lausiaca* were likewise referenced. These same themes, complete with medical language, are not new and can also be located in Clement of Alexandria’s reflection in the third century on wealth and poverty, *Quis dives salvetur*.⁹¹ As White recently argued, at the heart of this speech about the proper use of wealth lies instruction about self-control and the proper attitude towards the passions. In all of these works, there is a natural connection between the virtuous life of self-restraint and simplicity (voluntary poverty). Not in all cases, but certainly in Palladius, John Chrysostom, Asterius, Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil of Caesarea, there is a further natural connection between the proper use of wealth – that is, only what is essential for a modest life – and the distribution of what is excess to one’s simple needs to those without sufficient for survival – that is, those unable to live a healthy and virtuous life precisely because they experience imbalance in terms of scarcity. It is the melding of this

⁸⁹ For example, *Quod freq. conv.* (PG 63, 462.18–26).

⁹⁰ For a similar argument in regard to the writings of another product of this time and region, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, see Y. Papadogiannakis, *Christianity and Hellenism in the Fifth-century Greek East: Theodoret’s Apologetics Against the Greeks in Context* (Washington, DC, 2012), 40–7, who argues, in the words of one reviewer, that Theodoret ‘casts his words as a carefully prepared “homeopathic” treatment, using elements within Hellenic culture pharmacologically to restore the emotional balance tied to Christian truth’ (A. Schor, *BMC* 2013.09.59). This systematic deployment of medical terminology is traced in his treatises and commentaries. Unfortunately none of Theodoret’s homilies survive.

⁹¹ See M.L. White, ‘Moral Pathology: Passion, Progress, and Protreptic in Clement of Alexandria’, in J.T. Fitzgerald, ed., *Passions and Moral Progress in Greco-Roman Thought* (London, 2008), 284–321.

essentially philosophical ideal with explicitly Christian ideals about poverty and love of neighbour that tips it over into social action.⁹² All of these authors are products of both Christian training and Greek *paideia* and, in fact, as Ferngren argues, the two Gregories and Basil either received training in clinical medicine or nurtured a keen scientific interest in medical theory.⁹³ Since this same training is reflected in the Christian anthropology of yet another late fourth-century eastern bishop, Nemesius of Emesa,⁹⁴ and in the works of Theodoret of Cyrrhus,⁹⁵ we should expect that John Chrysostom, Palladius, and Asterius, too, would all have studied medicine as a branch of philosophy.

Given the links drawn here, it is likely to be no coincidence that Palladius highlights the actions of John Chrysostom in setting up hospitals on his arrival in Constantinople and that he specifically refers to John's employment of monks in their service.⁹⁶ Similarly, Miller posits that the Sampson Hospital in Constantinople had its origins in the later fourth century in a form of co-ed urban asceticism with an emphasis on urban engagement and charitable service.⁹⁷ So also Gregory of Nazianzus situates the development of the *basileia* within a framework in which attendance on the sick and the practice of medicine are a natural accompaniment to Basil's moderate asceticism, a consequence of his philosophy.⁹⁸ These developments situate themselves within the same mindset outlined above and should be seen as an experiment distinct from the Pachomian origins described by Crislip.⁹⁹ It is these particular proto-hospitals that fall out of

⁹² On the latter with specific reference to John Chrysostom see R. Brändle, *Matthäus 25,31–46 im Werk des Johannes Chrysostomus. Ein Beitrag zur Auslegungsgeschichte und zur Erforschung der Ethik der griechischen Kirche um die Wende vom 4. zum 5. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1979); *idem*, 'This sweetest passage: Matthew 25:31–46 and assistance to the poor in the homilies of John Chrysostom', in S.R. Holman, ed., *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2008), 127–39; and the critique of recent scholarship by A.M. Ritter, *Studia Chrysostomica. Aufsätze zu Weg, Werk und Wirkung des Johannes Chrysostomos (ca. 349–407)* (Tübingen, 2012), 56–66. With respect to the Cappadocians see S. Holman, *The Hungry are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia* (Oxford, 2001); on Theodoret of Cyrrhus see G.N. Gotsis and G.A. Merianos, 'Wealth and Poverty in Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *On providence*', *JECS* 59 (2007) 11–48.

⁹³ Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care*, 28.

⁹⁴ On this point see Ferngren, *Medicine and Health Care*, 29.

⁹⁵ See Papadogiannakis, *Christianity and Hellenism*, 30–51, who argues for a deep knowledge of Hellenic medicine throughout his writings.

⁹⁶ Palladius, *Dial.* 5 (SC 341, 122). Cf. ps-Mart., *Or. funeb.* 61–64 (ed. Wallraff, 114–20) re John's attempted construction at Constantinople of a leprosarium.

⁹⁷ T.S. Miller, 'The Sampson Hospital of Constantinople', *ByzF* 15 (1990), 101–36.

⁹⁸ Greg. Naz. *Or.* 43.61–63 (SC 384, 256–64). See especially 43.63, where he describes it as the repository of the excess of the wealthy.

⁹⁹ So Kolbet, *Cure of Souls*, 9, points out that psychagogy was a minority tradition within ancient rhetoric, although especially influential on early Christianity, while Meredith, *Illness and Healing*, 152–81 (an idea developed at greater length in Crislip, *Thorns*), points

the same mindset that produced medicinal preaching. Where one development took off, however, the other appears to have trickled to a halt. Where hospitals and Greek natural medicine continued into the Islamic and medieval periods, the transformation of the medical treatise into a homily was not, it appears, as consciously realised beyond the mid-fifth century.¹⁰⁰ It is in the homilies of John Chrysostom, preached between 386 and 403 CE that this transformation appears to have been most fully realised.

The development traced here raises a number of interesting questions. Is it part of a recovery in the mid-fourth to early fifth century among well-educated Christian clergy of older classical ideals, as Kolbet proposes for Augustine¹⁰¹ – a look back to the classical Greek past, as it were? Or is it simply an artefact of the continuity of the teaching of natural and ethical philosophy to elite young men within the secular education system? And does the meaning-making that surrounded sickness and sanctity in ascetic circles from the fourth century onwards, traced by Crislip, have something to do with its demise? That is, did preaching moderate asceticism in relation to care for the poor become less attractive as ascetic excess and ascetic illness, which were out of the reach of the ordinary Christian, became increasingly valued? In regard to the developments traced here, what role, too, did the elevated social status of physicians in the east, adduced by Merideth as a reason for the rise of the hospital in that part of the late antique Mediterranean world,¹⁰² play in determining its geographic focus? These are questions for further investigation. What is argued here is that, when traditional distinctions between natural and ethical philosophy, on the one hand, and between the body and the soul, on the other, are collapsed it allows a particular shift in medico-philosophical genres that occurred in late antiquity to come to light. To borrow Elm's turn of phrase, the preachers who embraced that shift could perhaps be called 'sons of Hellenism, fathers of the hospital'.

out that the 'cure of souls' tradition was itself offset by a second equally dominant discourse, that of the sanctity of the sick saint/ascetic.

¹⁰⁰ Note the parallel transformation in this same broad geographic region, with a similar chronological terminus, of the medical treatise into heresiological handbook: Epiph. *Panarion* and Theod. *Graecarum affectionum curatio*.

¹⁰¹ See Kolbet, *Cure of Souls*, 86, for the argument that Augustine imposed a (re) new(ed) Platonic telos on a received Hellenistic psychagogic model.

¹⁰² Merideth, *Illness and Healing*, 80.

Chapter 2

Le *De obitu Theodosii* d'Ambroise (395) : Une refonte des genres littéraires dans le creuset du sermon politique

Tiphaine Moreau

L'empereur Théodose mourut le 17 janvier 395. Quarante jours plus tard, le 25 février, l'évêque Ambroise prononça dans l'église de Milan son éloge funèbre, que nous avons conservé sous le titre du *De obitu Theodosii*.¹ Il le fit en présence d'Honorius, âgé de dix ans, peut-être d'Arcadius, et des dignitaires civils et militaires du palais, devant la dépouille embaumée de l'empereur défunt, avant qu'elle ne soit transférée à Constantinople.

Qu'un évêque « panégyrise » n'est pas un fait nouveau puisqu'Eusèbe avait prononcé, en 325 et 336, en tant qu'évêque de Césarée, des discours pour Constantin.² Par ailleurs, cet éloge funèbre n'est pas le premier que composa Ambroise. En 378, il avait déploré la mort de son frère Satyrus et, trois ans auparavant, en 392, celle de Valentinien II.³ Le *DOT* a donné lieu à plusieurs études savantes pour sa composition originale dans laquelle des genres littéraires et des procédés rhétoriques se trouvent mêlés.⁴ Nous entendons en

¹ Ambr. *DOT*, O. Faller, ed., CSEL 73 (Wien, 1955), 369–401 ; M.D. Mannix, ed., *Sancti Ambrosii Oratio de obitu Theodosii* (Washington, 1924). Calqué sur l'embaumement de quarante jours de Jacob (*Gn* 50. 2–3), ce délai était un usage des Églises orientales (*Const. apost.* 8. 42. 3) ; Y.-M. Duval, 'Formes profanes et formes bibliques dans les oraisons funèbres de Saint Ambroise', in M. Fuhrmann, ed., *Christianisme et formes littéraires de l'Antiquité tardive en Occident* (Genève, 1977), 235–301, y voit celui de l'Église milanaise, mais Ambroise, qui signale d'autres usages dans le 3 (trente-trois et quarante-sept jours), a probablement innové dans cette circonstance.

² Eus. *Caes. Laud. Const.*, P. Maraval, trad. (Paris, 2001).

³ Ambr., *De excessu Satyri*, et *De obitu Valentiniani*, O. Faller, ed., CSEL 73 (Wien, 1955).

⁴ Citons en particulier : Y.-M. Duval, *Formes profanes* (Genève, 1977), 235–301 ; G. Bonamente, 'Potere politico ed autorità religiosa nel *De obitu Theodosii* di Ambrogio', *Chiesa e società dal Secolo IV ai nostri giorni : Studi Storici in onore di P. Ilarino de Milano I*, (Roma, 1979), 83–183 ; F.E. Consolino, 'L'*optimus princeps* secondo Ambrogio : virtù imperatorie e cristiane nelle orazioni funebri per Valentiniano e Teodosio', *RSI* 96 (1984), 1025–45, 'Teodosio e il ruolo del principe cristiano dal *De obitu* di Ambrogio alle storie ecclesiastiche', *CrSt* 15 (1994), 257–77 ; M. Biermann, *Die Leichenreden des Ambrosius von Mailand, Rhetorik, Prodigat, Politik* (Stuttgart, 1995) ; S. Lunn-Rockliffe,

rechercher les liens avec le contexte de la fin du IV^e siècle et montrer que l'éclatement des frontières entre les genres recouvre celle de ses préoccupations politiques et religieuses.⁵ En effet, celles-ci semblent révéler une grille de lecture des réalités historiques de 395. On y a souvent vu la production d'un esprit particulier, propre à Ambroise.⁶ Mais la fusion des traditions rhétoriques qu'il opère dans ce sermon et qui contraste avec celles du panégyrique composé par Pacatus six ans auparavant,⁷ n'a rien d'une soudaine lubie littéraire : elle est celle d'un 'Kirchenpolitiker'⁸ lettré qui maîtrise sa composition et l'assujettit tant à sa foi qu'à ses inquiétudes du moment, qui sont aussi celles de son temps.

Le remodelage des genres et des styles

Un 'apparent désordre' (Savon)

La structure du discours peut être ordonnée dans le tableau suivant, qui fait état des principaux genres littéraires et procédés rhétoriques abordés et employés par Ambroise.

'Ambrose's imperial funeral sermons', *JEH* 59 (2008), 191–207 ; M. Bojcov, 'Der Heilige Kranz und der Heilige Pferdezaum des Kaisers Konstantin und des Bischofs Ambrosius', *FMS* 42 (2008), 1–69.

⁵ N'oublions pas, en outre, que le texte qui nous est parvenu est une version écrite sans doute remaniée *post euentum* par Ambroise, avant sa mort en 397. Cf. L. Laurand, 'L'oraison funèbre de Théodose par saint Ambroise. Discours prononcé et discours écrit', *RHE* 17 (1921), 349–50 ; H. Savon, *Ambroise de Milan* (Paris, 1997), 309 ; Bojcov, *Der Heilige Kranz*, 7–8.

⁶ P. de Labriolle disait ainsi d'Ambroise qu'il n'avait pas la profondeur et le don de création verbale d'un saint Augustin, ni l'imagination et la verve d'un saint Jérôme : *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* (Paris, 1947), 399–400.

⁷ Pacat. *Pan. Théod.*, in E. Galletier, ed., *Panégyriques latins* 12, (Paris, 1955), 3, 47–117. Il diffère tout autant des discours d'éloge de Thémistios adressés à Théodose : les 14^e (379), 15^e (381), 18^e (384) et 19^e (385).

⁸ H. Van Campenhausen, *Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), en particulier la conclusion : 'Ambrosius als Kirchenpolitiker Charakter', 258–78. Voir C. Morino, *Church and State in the Teaching of St Ambrose* (Washington, DC, 1969).

Plan du discours

§	Sujet	Genres/procédés
1–2	Décès annoncé et accompagné de séismes, ténèbres, inondations	Exorde (<i>lamentatio</i> + <i>consolatio</i>)
3–4	<i>Quadragesima</i> : comparaison d'Honorius avec Joseph	
5–6	L'héritage de Théodose : enfants, lois.	Éloge (<i>laudatio</i>)
7–10	La victoire de Théodose est due à sa foi	+ <i>exaltatio fidei</i>
11	Exhortation à être fidèle aux fils de Théodose	<i>captatio beneuolentiae</i> (?)
12–16	Les qualités de Théodose	Éloge (<i>laudatio</i>)
17–26	<i>Dilexi</i>	Exégèse/Prosopopée
27–28	Exaltation de l'humilité de Théodose	Éloge (<i>laudatio</i>)
29–32	Théodose a rejoint le royaume de Dieu	Építaphe
33–35	Amour d'Ambroise pour Théodose	Péroration (<i>peroratio</i>) Fausse fin du <i>sermo</i>
36	Le rôle de l'évêque	Requiem (<i>lamentatio</i>)
37–38	Amour d'Ambroise pour Théodose (psaumes 114 et 14)	Exégèse (<i>enarratio</i>)
39–40	Théodose dans la lumière, les tyrans dans les ténèbres	<i>Consolatio</i>
41–51	Hélène, Constantin et l'invention de la croix	Histoire ecclésiastique (<i>relatio</i>) (<i>digressio</i> ?)
52	La gloire des empereurs	<i>Exaltatio/laudatio</i>
53	Lazare et Abraham	Exégèse (<i>enarratio</i>)
54–56	Adresse à Honorius qui pleure	<i>Consolatio</i>

On remarquera que, de manière classique, l'exorde (1–4) et la péroraison (33–38) encadrent l'éloge (5–6 ; 12–16 ; 27–28) qui relève de l'art du panégyrique, exprimé dans un registre encomiastique. Mais la *laudatio* est entrecoupée d'un appel à la fidélité (11) et d'une longue prosopopée (17–26) dans laquelle l'âme de Théodose défunt répète le premier mot du *Psaume* 114 (*Dilexi*). Cette prosopopée (17–26) trouve plus loin sa résolution dans le propre *dilexi* d'Ambroise (33–35), et la relation de l'invention de la croix par Hélène, la mère de Constantin (41–51), où Ambroise donne dans le genre de l'histoire ecclésiastique. Le discours est enfin une prière dans laquelle se trouve exprimée, non sans esprit polémique, la doxologie nicéenne (49) et les victoires catholiques (7–8). L'ensemble est relié par des remarques exégétiques, qui sont autant de brèves *enarrationes* sur des citations du texte biblique (39–40 et 53).⁹ La composition du discours brise donc le corset des contraintes classiques du genre et en disperse les éléments. Ambroise se détourne des formes scolaires de la rhétorique qu'il employait encore dans la déploration de Satyrus. Doit-on croire à un travail cavalier de sa part ? D'après la démonstration de Duval il s'agit au contraire d'un 'principe rigoureux de composition' qui répond à des 'intentions profondes'.¹⁰ Autrement dit, le brouillage des cadres rhétoriques habituels ne serait pas un signe de maladresse, mais celui, délibéré, d'un dessein. Comme l'épistolaire, ce sermon est une combinaison qui enjambe toutes les frontières.¹¹

Les reliquats de classicisme

Dans sa composition, le *De obitu Valentiniani* entremêlait les références classiques et bibliques.¹² Il en va ainsi dans le *DOT*, avec une part des références classiques qui donne l'impression d'une *peau de chagrin* au profit des références bibliques. Les rares références profanes se limitent à Néron et à Caligula (50), figures convenues de la bestialité. Et si Julien se trouve brièvement évoqué, c'est pour condamner l'erreur de la philosophie (51).¹³ Par ailleurs, les évocations habituelles des panégyriques telles que l'exaltation de la naissance, de l'origine géographique et familiale, la prestance physique, l'éducation et les qualités

⁹ Biermann, *Die Leichenreden*, 150, souligne un passage des 'Gliederungsvorgaben der Schulrhetorik' à une 'Erklärung eines Lesungstextes'.

¹⁰ Duval, *Formes profanes*, 275, évoquant F. Rozynski, *Die Leichenreden des H. Ambrosius insbesondere auf ihr Verhältnis zu der antiken Rhetorik* (Breslau, 1910) et Faller, ed. (1955).

¹¹ M. Testard, *Les chrétiens latins des premiers siècles. La littérature et la vie* (Paris, 1981), 76.

¹² Savon, *Ambroise*, 285.

¹³ P. Courcelle, 'Ambroise de Milan "professeur de philosophie"', *RHR* 181 (1972), 147–55: 154–5 : Qu'il condamne l'erreur de la philosophie ne retient pas Ambroise de reprendre à son compte des pages entières de Plotin et de réutiliser le traité d'Apulée sur la doctrine de Platon.

militaires, bien présentes chez Eusèbe de Césarée et Pacatus,¹⁴ sont absentes du développement d'Ambroise. Lunn-Rockliffe suppose avec raison qu'en omettant d'évoquer l'ascendance du prince, Ambroise signifie de la sorte que, chaque âme est désormais pesée à l'aune de ses propres mérites.¹⁵ Quant à la beauté, reflet du divin, Ambroise l'avait soulignée dans l'éloge funèbre de Valentinien II trois ans plus tôt.¹⁶ Cela signifie donc qu'il les a délibérément omises. Néanmoins, l'entame du discours (1) demeure topique. Ambroise évoque les phénomènes naturels qui ont accompagné la mort de Théodose : tremblement de terre, pluies diluviennes et ténèbres opaques (*ultra solitum caligo tenebrosior*). Il atteste ainsi de prodiges à la manière romaine, comme Tite Live ou Ammien Marcellin. On peut aussi penser qu'il use plus expressément d'une réminiscence scripturaire, celle du grondement de la terre et des ténèbres accompagnant la mort de Jésus.¹⁷ Mais il est vain de vouloir départir la perception prodigiale des Romains païens de celle des chrétiens. En somme, Ambroise s'adresse ainsi à un auditoire mélangé.

Un sermon

Le *DOT* juxtapose et fusionne genres, registres et références dans le sens hégémonique de la Bible.¹⁸ Au surplus, Ambroise pratique un art oratoire qui s'apparente au sermon.¹⁹ Aussi réserve-t-il son art de la citation à la Bible. On peut ainsi relever dans ce discours cent références bibliques directes ou indirectes, ainsi qu'une douzaine de passages paraphrasant des épîtres de Paul,²⁰ ce qui est considérable au regard de la brièveté du discours.

Cependant, le foisonnement des citations bibliques n'est pas un précédent. Ambroise en avait déjà usé dans ses deux précédents discours funèbres et, qui plus est, il n'était pas le seul à le faire. Grégoire de Nysse avait procédé de cette façon

¹⁴ Eus. Caes. *Triakontaeterikos*; VC.; Pacat. *Pan. Théod.* 4.

¹⁵ Lunn-Rockliffe, 'Ambrose's imperial funeral sermons' (n. 4), 200: 'each soul is now weighed on its own merits, and illustrious ancestry is no guarantee of salvation'. On notera toutefois que Théodoret, soixante ans plus tard, impute la notoriété de Théodose, au moment de son avènement, à 'l'éclat de ses ancêtres' (διὰ τὴν τῶν προγόνων περιφάνειαν) auquel s'ajoutait sa valeur personnelle (*HE* 5. 5. 1).

¹⁶ *De obit. Val.* 17 et 58 (*iuuenis meus.../...habens in se imaginem Christi*).

¹⁷ *Mt* 27. 45–52 ; *Mc* 15. 38 ; *Lc* 23. 44–45.

¹⁸ Duval, *Formes profanes*, 291, parle de 'mimétisme biblique'; G. Nauroy, 'L'Écriture dans la pastorale d'Ambroise de Milan', in J. Fontaine et Ch. Piétri, eds, *Le monde latin et la Bible* (Paris, 1985), 371–408 : 371, de 'marqueterie de références scripturaires'.

¹⁹ Voir G. Nauroy, *Ambroise de Milan. Écriture et esthétique d'une exégèse pastorale* (Bern, 2003).

²⁰ Mannix, ed. (1924), introd. ; B. Gerbenne, 'Modèles bibliques pour un empereur : le *De obitu Theodosii* d'Ambroise de Milan', *Cahiers de Biblia Patristica* 6 (1999), 161–76 : 161 ; liste des occurrences dans *Biblia Patristica* 6 (Paris, 2001).

dans les oraisons funèbres de Pulcheria (385) et de Flaccilla (386).²¹ Ambroise donne dans un genre qui s'affirme alors chez les prédicateurs de la fin du IV^e siècle. Par ailleurs, le recours aux modèles bibliques, entre autres Abraham (8), Joseph (3–4 et 55), Elisée (10), Abias et Amos (16), Salomon (12), n'est pas non plus une nouveauté. Eusèbe de Césarée avait comparé Constantin à Moïse.²² En revanche, le passage sur l'humilité de Théodose constitue le cœur du discours et son originalité (17–35). Il s'appuie sur le *Psaume* 114 et, secondairement, sur le *Psaume* 14.²³ Ces références ne sont pas de simples ornements mais se conforment sans doute à l'*ordo* du jour. De ce point de vue, le *DOT* peut être considéré comme un sermon. Au surplus, Ambroise y répète treize fois le premier mot du *Psaume* 114 : 'J'ai aimé' (17–23) et la figure de l'épanaphore est conduite à la manière liturgique, comme un *alleluia*.

Devant le constat de cet abaissement des frontières entre les genres, il convient de s'interroger sur sa signification. Il serait réducteur d'associer l'originalité de ce discours au génie unique d'Ambroise. Homme de son temps, il exprime des préoccupations qu'il partage sans doute avec ses pairs. Il s'agit donc d'un discours de circonstance, dont l'éloge n'est qu'une facette.

Un discours de circonstance : le contexte culturel et religieux de la fin du IV^e siècle

Propos sur l'impiété

L'éloge funèbre de Théodose est pour Ambroise l'occasion de rappeler publiquement le symbole de la foi nicéenne.²⁴ S'agissant d'un discours funèbre, il réaffirme la croyance en la vie éternelle. Après avoir déploré la mort de l'empereur dans une brève *lamentatio* (1–2), Ambroise pratique aussitôt la *consolatio* (2).²⁵

²¹ Greg. Nyss. *Or. Pulch.*, PG 46, 863–78 ; *Or. Plak. Aug.*, PG 46, 877–92.

²² Eus. Caes. *HE* 9. 9. 8 ; *VC* 2. 12, mentionne que comme Moïse, Constantin fut élevé dans le palais des tyrans. Socr. *HE* 1.18. 12, écrit que Constantin se fit faire une tente comme Moïse pour prier sur le champ de bataille.

²³ Duval, *Formes profanes*, 278–9 a démontré, preuves convaincantes à l'appui, que ces références indiquent que ces psaumes avaient été préalablement lus au cours de l'office funèbre : le verset 6 du *Psaume* 114 est cité parmi les prières des funérailles (*Const. apost.* 6. 30. 3).

²⁴ D.H. William, 'Polemics and politics in Ambrose of Milan's *De fide*', *JThS* 46 (1995), 519–31. Dans ses précédents ouvrages, Ambroise avait semblablement exprimé son anti-arianisme : B. Studer, 'Die anti-arianische Auslegung von Psalm 23, 7–10 in *De fide* IV, I₂ des Ambrosius von Mailand', in Y.-M. Duval, ed., *Ambroise de Milan* (Paris, 1974), 245–66 ; N. Adkin, 'Ambrose, *De virginibus*, 2, 2, 10f. and the gnomes of the council of Nicea', *REAug* 38 (1992), 261–70.

²⁵ Testard, *Les chrétiens latins*, 75. La *consolatio* 's'adresse au cœur avant de s'adresser à l'intelligence, elle ne nie pas la douleur ni ne la minimise, elle compatit'. Elle

La mort n'est pas un terme mais un passage entre la *tranquillitas diuturna* et la *lux perpetua* (32). Elle permet à Théodose, parce qu'il a aimé son Seigneur, de rejoindre l'assemblée des saints (*meruit sanctorum consortia*), alors que Maxime et Eugène sont *in inferno* (39). Les mauvais empereurs connaissent la damnation des impies telle que la leur réservaient Eusèbe et Lactance.²⁶ Maxime était pourtant de confession catholique. Quant à Eugène, il n'avait fait, somme toute, que revenir aux dispositions de liberté de culte de la lettre de Milan de 313.²⁷ Il faut donc croire que leur impiété a surtout consisté, aux yeux d'Ambroise, à usurper le pouvoir impérial au détriment d'un empereur baptisé dans le catholicisme nicéen.²⁸ Nous savons aussi par Paulin de Milan que Maxime avait refusé à Ambroise de faire pénitence, ce qui aurait signifié pour lui la perte du salut.²⁹ Un peu plus loin, Ambroise procède à un rappel doxologique en insistant sur le fait que le Christ a pris chair (16) : Dieu est venu sur terre *non caro figurata* (30). Ambroise rappelle ici la réalité de l'union hypostatique du Christ et réfute les courants du docétisme et du sabellianisme qui n'y voyaient pas une véritable incarnation.³⁰ Les adversaires du symbole de Nicée-Constantinople sont nommément désignés à la fin du discours : les photiniens, qui la nient, et les ariens, qui diminuent sa puissance.³¹ On voit bien là qu'Ambroise prononce avant tout un sermon puisqu'il rappelle la *doxa* issue des deux premiers conciles œcuméniques.³² Par là même, il exalte incidemment le rôle des évêques tout en louant l'intervention de Constantin et Théodose.

L'invention de la croix : émergence des reliques

Le *DOT* contient un récit de l'invention de la croix par Hélène et Constantin (41–51).³³ Celui-ci a souvent été perçu comme une « pièce rapportée » et son

est appropriée à l'image qu'Ambroise donne de Théodose, celle d'un prince *misericos*.

²⁶ Lact. *De mort. pers.*, J. Moreau, ed., (Paris, 1954) ; Eus. *Caes. HE*, G. Bardy, ed. (Paris, 1952–60).

²⁷ Paul. *Med. VAmbr* 26 ; Rufin. *HE* 2.33 ; *Ambr. Ep.* 57.

²⁸ Soz. *HE* 7. 4. Sur la conception de l'hérétique par Ambroise : C. Lheureux-Godbille, 'Barbarie et hérésie dans l'œuvre de saint Ambroise de Milan (374–397)', *MA* 109 (2003), 473–92.

²⁹ Paul. *Med. VAmbr* 19 : *sed ille cum paenitentiam declinat superbus spiritu ...*

³⁰ Voir W. Bauer, *Orthodoxie et hérésie aux débuts du christianisme* (Paris, 2009).

³¹ *DOT* 49 : *Reges adorant, et Photiniani diuinitatem eius negant ! Clauum crucis eius diademate suo praeferunt imperatores, et Arriani potestatem eius inminuunt !* Partisans de l'évêque illyrien Photin, mort en 376, les photiniens étaient adoptionnistes et niaient la divinité du Fils ; les ariens la reconnaissaient mais l'amoindrissaient en jugeant que le Fils n'était pas coéternel au Père. Voir B. Jeanjean, *Saint Jérôme et l'hérésie* (Paris, 1999), 168–77.

³² I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Histoire des conciles œcuméniques*, t. 1 (Paris, 2006). Pour le texte des symboles : *ACO*, E. Schwartz, ed., 1.1.1 (Berlin-Leipzig, 1914).

³³ *DOT* 41–50. Sur ce point : A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris, 1961) ; S. Borgehammar, *How the Holy Cross*

emplacement comme énigmatique.³⁴ Cependant, l'évocation de l'invention de la Vraie croix à l'époque constantinienne, quelque soixante-dix ans plus tôt, entre en concordance avec le rôle croissant que jouent les reliques à l'époque théodosienne,³⁵ à l'instar de la translation des reliques des apôtres Timothée, Luc et André, faite naguère à la demande de Constance II.³⁶ Cette ruée vers les reliques de saints n'est pas sans intérêt pour Ambroise, qui a triomphé en 386 des ariens milanais à l'aide de la découverte des reliques de Gervais et Protas.³⁷ Selon le récit de Paulin de Milan, les reliques des martyrs Nazaïre et Celse auraient été découvertes dans un jardin situé près de Milan quelques mois après le discours, et déposées dans l'église ambrosienne des Saint-Apôtres, dont le plan imitait le mausolée constantinien et constantinopolitain des empereurs.³⁸ L'atmosphère dans laquelle Ambroise prononce son discours est donc celle de l'invention de reliques qui interviennent en facteurs légitimants pour l'empereur et la confession nicéenne, mais aussi pour l'évêque, qui, il va sans dire, place localement le culte des reliques sous sa propre direction.³⁹ Par son récit de l'invention de la croix et des clous par Hélène et de leur usage par Constantin, qu'il juge fondateurs, Ambroise rehausse du modèle constantinien la figure de l'empereur romain, mais tout autant celle de l'évêque, dont il ne laisse pas d'évoquer le rôle éminent.⁴⁰

Le rôle de l'évêque auprès de l'empereur

Le *DOT* exprime une lamentation d'Ambroise : le décès de Théodose peut signifier l'échéance finale d'un lien privilégié entre l'évêque et le prince. C'est pourquoi Ambroise exprime ses sentiments personnels dans les paragraphes 34 et 35, où il reprend cinq fois son *dilexi* en ajoutant le terme *uirum*. 'J'ai aimé l'homme', dit-il : cet homme qui l'a appelé au moment de mourir, qui s'est montré plus soucieux du sort de l'Église que du sien propre, et qui a ainsi montré son âme pieuse (35) et Ambroise d'ajouter (36) : 'Mon cœur est broyé, car un homme

Was Found. From Event to Medieval Legend (Stockholm, 1991) ; J.W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta. The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross* (Leiden, 1992) ; B. Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood. The Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden, 2004) ; Bojcov, *Der Heilige Kranz*, 1–69.

³⁴ Ch. Favez, 'L'épisode de l'invention de la croix dans l'oraison funèbre de Théodose', *REL* 10 (1932), 423–9 ; W. Steidle, 'Die Leichenrede des Ambrosius für Kaiser Theodosius und die Helena-Legende', *VChr* 32 (1978), 94–112.

³⁵ R. Wisniewski, *Recherches sur l'essor du culte des reliques en Orient et en Occident* (Paris, 2011).

³⁶ Philostorg. *HE* 3.2 ; *Chron. pasch.* 284^e Olymp. (AC 356–357), CSHB 11 (Bonn, 1832), 542.

³⁷ Ambr. *Ep.* 22.1.

³⁸ Paul. Med. *VAmbr.* 32–3.

³⁹ P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* (Paris, 2011), 47.

⁴⁰ Il n'est qu'à lire la description que fait la pèlerine Égérie du statut de l'évêque dans le culte des reliques pour s'en convaincre (37.1–2).

nous est enlevé, que nous pouvons à peine imaginer'.⁴¹ Il se prévaut d'une intimité avec l'empereur qui n'est autre qu'une *amicitia* chrétienne,⁴² mais qui, *de facto*, répond aux intérêts politiques de l'un et de l'autre. Ambroise semble appréhender l'avenir quant aux évêques, il s'épanche sur les vicissitudes de l'épiscopat et sur l'inconfort de la tâche qui incombe aux évêques (36).⁴³ C'est pourquoi il appelle de ses vœux qu'Honorius et Arcadius soient un nouveau Gratien et un nouveau Théodose : nicéens et disponibles à son écoute. Ira-t-on jusqu'à avancer que, dans son plaidoyer pour une influence proche des évêques sur l'empereur, Ambroise participe à un processus de 'cléricalisation de la figure impériale' ?⁴⁴ Ce serait sans doute abusif car Ambroise revendique par ailleurs un rôle précis pour chacun.

Ainsi, on le voit, Ambroise a beaucoup à dire ce 25 février 395 et, pour ce faire, il repousse les formes convenues de l'oraison funèbre, qui auraient restreint l'amplitude de son propos. Son discours s'apparente enfin à un sermon politique, qui vise à exhorter les auditeurs à la *fides*, gage de stabilité de l'Empire et du christianisme catholique.

La *fides*, gage de stabilité pour l'Empire et le catholicisme

Les qualités chrétiennes de l'empereur

Le *DOT* est un discours public et l'on ne saurait trop prendre en compte cette donnée.⁴⁵ Parmi ses auditeurs, se trouve Honorius, fils et successeur de Théodose. En exaltant les qualités du père, Ambroise exhorte le fils à le suivre sur cette voie et le peuple à être fidèle à cette dynastie d'empereurs exemplaires. Il passe donc par l'exercice obligé de la *laudatio*, mais en la focalisant sur des qualités chrétiennes, empruntées en partie à son *De officiis* – adaptation chrétienne de l'œuvre de Cicéron (391).⁴⁶ La *temperantia* et la *iustitia* sont ainsi évoquées (26). Aussi Ambroise se plie-t-il sans contrainte à la rhétorique commune aux panégyriques, mais en détaillant des vertus qui procèdent de la foi, de la *pietas*. Ambroise polarise l'éloge sur le fait que Théodose était *misericors*, c'est-à-dire accessible à la compassion. Pour souligner ces qualités, il compare l'empereur

⁴¹ *DOT* 36 : *Conteror corde, quia ereptus est uir, quem uix possumus inuenire.*

⁴² Sur la notion d'amitié chrétienne, voir P. Fabre, *Saint Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne* (Paris, 1949) ; P. Grégoire-Delage, ed., *Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne* (Rohan, 2013).

⁴³ *DOT* 36 : *In omnibus sacerdos periclitatur, in omnibus reis angitur ; quod enim alii patiuntur, ipse sustinet, et iterum liberatur ipse, cum alii, qui tenentur periculis, liberantur.*

⁴⁴ Consolino, *Teodosio e il ruolo del principe*, 26.

⁴⁵ Biermann, *Die Leichenreden*, 180, propose comme plausible le nombre de 3000 auditeurs.

⁴⁶ Sur ses sources et sa composition, voir Ambroise, *Les devoirs*, M. Testard, ed. (Paris, 1984), 1, 22–39. Savon, *Ambroise*, 309–13, voit dans le cœur du discours 'un *De officiis* en réduction'.

au roi Salomon (12).⁴⁷ Théodose s'est montré *plenus timoris dei, plenus misericordiae* (16). En cela, Ambroise loue des qualités impériales selon les traditions romaines tout en leur donnant une tonalité chrétienne. Cette fusion leur procure, selon Consolino, 'une validité également reconnue par les païens'.⁴⁸ Par ailleurs, nous savons que l'empereur était sujet à de violents emportements et Ambroise le rappelle (13).⁴⁹ Mais il y voit une attitude impérieuse qu'il relie habilement au *Psaume 4* : 'Irritez-vous, et ne péchez pas'.⁵⁰ Ambroise détourne ainsi ce qui aurait pu être considéré comme une dérive vers l'*hybris* de la part de l'empereur. Il conjugue cela au fait que Théodose ait aimé jusqu'à ses ennemis (17).⁵¹ Le prince parfait est celui qui fait acte de repentir et qui se montre perfectible (17). Théodose l'a été comme le roi David, qu'Ambroise avait exhorté plusieurs fois d'imiter : dans ses lettres 40, de 388, et 51, de 390, ainsi que dans son *Apologie de David*, également de 390.⁵² Et c'est bien par l'humilité de sa pénitence après le massacre de Thessalonique que Théodose est parvenu au salut (27).⁵³ On notera qu'Augustin conclut également son éloge de Théodose par cette caractéristique : 'Quoi de plus admirable que sa profonde humilité ?' dit-il, faisant d'elle, à l'instar d'Ambroise, la principale de ses vertus.⁵⁴

Mais Ambroise va plus loin et adjoint à l'exaltation des qualités de l'empereur celle de l'impératrice, qui féconde, avec ce dernier, une descendance chrétienne. C'est pour lui un gage de stabilité pour l'empire et le catholicisme.

L'exaltation de la piété féminine : les impératrices

Ambroise expose un modèle de piété féminine dans le récit de l'invention de la Vraie Croix (41–51). Moins que du *beatus Constantinus*, le récit est l'exaltation de la *magna femina* que fut sa mère. Hélène aurait fait creuser le sol du Golgotha et aurait découvert le bois de trois croix, le *titulus* et les clous (44–47). Elle les fait fondre alors dans un mors de cheval et dans un diadème destinés à son fils.

⁴⁷ DOT 12 ; Prov. 19.12, 20.6.

⁴⁸ Consolino, *Teodosio e il ruolo del principe*, 276 : 'una validità riconosciuta anch'è dai pagani'. Notons que le 19^e discours de Thémistios, écrit en 385 en l'honneur de Théodose, était centré sur la clémence de l'empereur.

⁴⁹ DOT 13 : *cum fuisset commotio maior iracundiae*.

⁵⁰ DOT 14 : *Irascimini et nolite peccare* (Ps 4.5).

⁵¹ *Dilexit inimicos*. Maraval, *Théodose le Grand* (Paris, 2009), 212, estime que Théodose fit preuve de clémence, notamment après sa victoire sur Maxime qui ne donna lieu qu'à quelques exécutions.

⁵² Ambr. *Ep.*, O. Faller, ed., CSEL 82¹ (1968). Voir le commentaire de P. Hadot, ed., in Ambroise, *Apologie de David* (Paris, 1977), 33–43. Ambroise consacre aussi deux passages à David dans *Off.* 3.33, 3.60.

⁵³ Maraval, *Théodose*, 233, a pensé sans doute très justement que la pénitence publique de Théodose eut un retentissement strictement épiscopal.

⁵⁴ Aug. *Civ. dei* 5.26.1.

Selon Ambroise, la prophétie de Zacharie selon laquelle 'est saint ce qui est sur le frein' est alors réalisée,⁵⁵ ce qui l'amène à faire l'éloge de la conjonction entre la croix et le pouvoir impérial (47–48). Ambroise fait donc de Théodose un parent de Constantin dans l'*imitatio Christi*. Au surplus, il laisse entendre que la croix s'est transmise par la voie féminine. C'est pourquoi il fait explicitement d'Hélène une nouvelle Marie : 'Marie a été visitée afin de libérer Ève, Hélène a été visitée pour racheter les empereurs'(47).⁵⁶ Le modèle impérial qu'exalte Ambroise est donc une compilation du Christ et de Marie et de Constantin et de sa mère. Le plus remarquable est l'exaltation des impératrices. Flaccilla, par exemple, est célébrée par Grégoire de Nysse, neuf ans auparavant, pour son activité caritative. Il la qualifie d' 'ornement de l'Empire' et de 'colonne de l'Eglise'.⁵⁷ Théodoret de Cyr affirme plus tard que Flaccilla s'était instruite aux lois divines, et qu'elle prenait soin des infirmes, des estropiés, des malades en distribuant l'or impérial.⁵⁸ Ce n'est pas sans laisser penser à l'image d'Hélène donnée par Sozomène après la découverte de la Vraie Croix.⁵⁹ Un rapprochement est encore possible par le monnayage d'or de Flaccilla qui arbore, au revers, le chrisme le plus large de la période considérée, ainsi sur un *solidus* frappé à partir de 383 à Constantinople (RIC IX.72). On retrouve, pour cette époque, les mêmes thèmes iconographiques sur des bronzes de Siscia (RIC IX.34.35) Thessalonique (RIC IX.46.47) Héraclée (RIC IX.13.17.23) et Nicomédie (RIC IX.36). Il n'est pas à exclure qu'Ambroise en ait fait usage. Il va sans dire que la représentation allégorique topique de Victoria tenant le bouclier chrismé renvoie à la victoire constantinienne du Pont Milvius en 312, *Idealtipe* de la victoire acquise par la foi dont Théodose se revendique assurément.⁶⁰ Parallèlement, c'est grâce à sa piété que l'impératrice Hélène a fait émerger le trophée du Christ, sa croix. Théodose est donc un autre Constantin, et toute Augusta se trouve appelée à être, comme l'avait été Flaccilla, une autre

⁵⁵ DOT 47 : *Utroque usus est Constantinus et fidem transmisit ad posteros reges. Principium itaque credentium imperatorum 'sanctum est, quod super frenum'* (Za 14. 20).

⁵⁶ DOT 47 : *Visitata est Maria, ut Euam liberaret, uisitata est Helena, ut redimentur imperatores*. Hélène est dotée, selon l'expression de B. Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, 29, d'un rôle sotériologique dans l'histoire politique et religieuse du Salut. Celle-ci avance que 'there was ... more than a hint of *imitatio Helenae* in the Theodosian milieu'. Notons qu'Ambroise célèbre Marie comme mère de Dieu dans le *De virg.* 2. 2. 7, adressé à sa propre sœur Marcellina.

⁵⁷ Greg. Nyss. *Or. in Plak. Aug.*, PG 46.884 : τῆς Βασιλείας τὸ ἐγκαλλώπισμα ; ὁ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στύλος.

⁵⁸ Théod. HE 5.19.1–4.

⁵⁹ Soz. HE 2.2.3.

⁶⁰ C'est la croix qui conduit Théodose à la victoire du *Frigidus* (Theod. HE 5.25.4) ; cf. F. Heim, 'Le thème de la "victoire sans combat" chez Ambroise', in Y.-M. Duval, ed., *Ambroise de Milan* (Paris, 1974), 267–81.

Hélène.⁶¹ Elle est aussi, dans une perspective dynastique du pouvoir et de la foi, un acteur nécessaire aux côtés de l'empereur.

La fides militum imperatoris (6)

Bojcov estime qu'Ambroise n'adresse pas ce discours à un auditoire de philosophes et de théologiens, mais aux cadres de l'armée et aux soldats, requérant leur fidélité à la famille théodosienne.⁶² Celle-ci avait été fragilisée par plusieurs décès, ceux de ses deux épouses, Aelia Flaccilla et Galla ainsi que de trois de ses enfants, dont Pulcheria et Gratien le jeune.⁶³ Dans la crainte d'une nouvelle usurpation, après celles de Maxime et d'Eugène, qui étaient récentes, Ambroise s'adresse à l'armée et à ses chefs, au premier rang desquels se trouve sans doute Stilicon, tuteur d'Honorius et époux de Serena, la nièce que Théodose avait adoptée.⁶⁴ La résonance du début du discours est donc celle de la légitimité dans la transmission de l'*imperium*. Or, Ambroise rappelle par deux fois que Théodose n'a pas laissé de testament écrit (5).⁶⁵ Outre la victoire et la fidélité de l'armée, il laisse cependant un double héritage : ses fils et sa législation (5).⁶⁶ Il convenait donc, pour Ambroise, d'assurer la légitimité de la transmission du pouvoir impérial occidental aux mains du cadet des deux fils de Théodose. D'où son appel à la *fides militum* à l'adresse de Stilicon et son insistance sur la foi et la victoire comme des héritages plus forts qu'un testament écrit. L'argument déployé pour soutenir la légitimité du *germen augustum* qu'est Honorius est celui de la foi et de la soumission à Dieu (7–8). La *Respublica* tient en lui son empereur légitime, nommé par son père et confirmé par Dieu. Quant à l'inquiétude devant la jeunesse d'Honorius,

⁶¹ Cela pourrait éventuellement induire la présence de Serena auprès de Stilicon dans l'auditoire d'Ambroise.

⁶² Bojcov, *Der Heilige Kranz*, 4.

⁶³ La première épouse de Théodose, Flaccilla, mourut en 385/386 et leur fille Pulcheria en 385, à l'âge de sept ou huit ans. Sa seconde épouse, Galla, sœur de Gratien et de Valentinien II, mourut en 394, après leur jeune fils Gratien, en donnant naissance à un enfant qui ne survécut pas. Ambroise ne mentionne pas Galla dans le *DOT*, sans doute parce qu'elle était la fille de l'impératrice Justine, une arienne qu'il avait âprement affrontée dans la première partie de son épiscopat.

⁶⁴ Serena était la fille du frère de Théodose, Honorius. A la mort de ce dernier, Théodose l'avait adoptée et donnée en mariage à Stilicon en 384 : *PLRE*, I, 'Serena', 824 ; 'Flavius Stilicho', 853–8. Sur Stilicon tuteur : Claudian. *In Rufin.* 2.4–6 ; *Cos. III Honor.* 157–8 ; *Cos. IV Honor.* 430–33 ; *Cos. Stilic.* 2.53–5, 59–60 ; *Oros. Hist.* 7.37.1 ; *Zos. HN* 4.59.1, 5.4.3.

⁶⁵ *DOT* 5 : *qui non communi iure testatus sit ; inritum testamentum iam filiis tradidisset.*

⁶⁶ *DOT* 5 : *quod dignius quam ut testamentum imperatoris lex sit ?* Le Code Théodosien conserve de lui 550 lois. B. Lançon, *Théodose* (Paris, 2014), 217. Voir A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford, 2002).

elle est absente du panégyrique prononcé par Claudien l'année suivante pour son troisième consulat. Celui-ci le dit élevé par Théodose dans la rigueur des camps et les exercices militaires.⁶⁷ Derrière les propos convenus du panégyrique, on peut lire une éducation plutôt rude au sein de l'armée, qui dut procurer à Honorius une popularité certaine. Le souci d'Ambroise ne peut donc pas être celui de l'âge supposé tendre d'Honorius. Il serait plutôt celui d'éventuels complots ourdis par des hauts fonctionnaires corrompus ou corruptibles, civils ou militaires, ayant gardé la nostalgie d'Eugène et d'Arbogast, battus par Théodose cinq mois plus tôt.⁶⁸

En guise de conclusion

Un sermon politique

Dans le *DOT*, Ambroise exprime ses préoccupations quant à l'avenir de Rome. Les enjeux du discours dépassent largement le contenu convenu d'un éloge funèbre ; la charge politique et religieuse s'en trouve enrichie. La mort de l'empereur, auquel Ambroise était lié, comporte le risque de ruptures à de multiples échelles. Il en va de l'avenir des relations entre l'empereur et l'évêque, de la durabilité du catholicisme et de la fidélité des Romains à la famille impériale. La fluctuation stylistique et l'abolition des frontières entre les genres sont alors nécessaires pour exprimer les différentes inquiétudes de l'évêque de Milan. Il ne s'agit plus seulement d'exalter le défunt dans un mode oratoire classique. Ambroise a construit un discours au spectre large, à même de convaincre la multitude. En tant qu'évêque, il a naturellement hypertrophié la part des citations et références bibliques, qu'il a habilement tempérées – mêlées – de références classiques, afin d'élaborer des modèles sécurisants et intelligibles. Cet entrelacs de la Bible et d'un souci politique typiquement romain traduit une globalité nouvelle, centrée de manière décisive sur la figure idéale de l'empereur chrétien sous l'égide du Christ et de la croix. Cette globalité se ressent autant dans la construction du discours que dans son contenu : de toute évidence, la forme épouse le fond. Ce faisant, Ambroise a brisé les canons de la rhétorique dans un sermon politique. De ce point de vue, tant dans l'aspect formel que dans son contenu, ce discours ne constitue pas une anomalie, mais un miroir synthétique de la culture de la fin du IV^e siècle. Les figures archétypales de David et de Constantin sont à ce point établies que Théodose s'est trouvé ensuite placé parmi leurs imitateurs plus que

⁶⁷ Claudian. *3^e cos. Honor.* 42–51.

⁶⁸ Sur la corruption dans l'Empire romain dans l'Antiquité tardive, voir en particulier : P. Veyne, 'Clientèle et corruption au service de l'État : la vénalité des offices dans le Bas-Empire romain', *Annales*, 36 (1981), 339–60 ; R. MacMullen, *Le déclin de Rome et la corruption du pouvoir*, (Paris, 2012 [New Haven, 1988]) ; J.-M. Carrié, 'Corruption', in P. Brown, G. Bowersock, O. Grabar, eds, *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, (Cambridge, MA, Londres, 1999), 396–7.

comme un modèle. Peut-être la cause s'en trouve-t-elle dans la théologie politique d'Ambroise elle-même. En effet, comme l'a mis en évidence Lunn-Rockliffe, là où Eusèbe définissait Constantin comme un dirigeant, Ambroise fait de Théodose un serviteur de la loi divine.⁶⁹ Aucun empereur des V^e et VI^e siècles n'a, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, été exalté comme un nouveau Théodose. Il faut attendre l'*Histoire de Théodose le Grand* de M^{re} Fléchier, dédiée au Dauphin de France comme à un nouvel Honorius, pour voir un évêque exalter, cette fois aux yeux de Louis XIV, l'humilité théodosienne comme une vertu royale essentielle.⁷⁰ Mais, tout en exaltant Théodose, Ambroise en appelait à la prééminence de l'archétype constantinien : ce brouillage des modèles n'est pas le moindre paradoxe de ce discours novateur d'Ambroise.

Abstract

In February 395, forty days after the Emperor Theodosius died at Milan, bishop Ambrose pronounced an oration, the so-called *De obitu Theodosii*. This funeral speech is both a panegyric in a classical style and a homily, richly stocked with biblical quotations. But it is also a piece of ecclesiastical history: it contains the first narrative of the invention of the Holy Cross by Empress Helena, Constantine's mother, who is raised to the status of an exemplar. Ambrose draws the contours of an imperial policy well adapted to a time of doubts: his homily is thus addressed to the young emperor Honorius, as also to palatine and military dignitaries. He intentionally juxtaposes literary styles, abolishing the normal frontiers between them. Classical forms vanish to yield to a new kind of speech, the political homily. In so doing, Ambrose combines imperial ideals with Christian faith, exalting Constantine and Theodosius as exemplars and ideal Roman and Christian emperors, one with the Cross and the other through humility. Nonetheless, he expresses some anxieties as to whether they would be followed in such a manner of piety by the new emperors, in particular with regard to their relations with bishops such as him. Thus, in the *De obitu Theodosii*, the shifting frontiers of literary styles seem to reflect those of politics, power and Christianity at the end of the fourth century.

⁶⁹ DOT 36 ; Lunn-Rockliffe, 'Ambrose's imperial funeral sermons' (n. 4), 192–3.

⁷⁰ V.-E. Fléchier, *Histoire de Théodose le Grand* (Paris, 1679 [réimpr. 1682]) : voir en particulier l'avertissement et le livre 4, 503–6, cf. Lançon, *Théodose*, 29–33..

Chapter 3

Jerome's *De viris illustribus* and New Genres for Christian Disputation in Late Antiquity

Colin Whiting

Scholars have long had contempt for Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, a collection of 135 notices, varying in length, about Christian authors from the apostolic period up to the time of its composition in 392 or 393. J.N.D. Kelly calls it 'propagandist history' which was 'inevitably derivative'.¹ Its 'pretentious facade [was] largely a sham' and its 'defects are so glaring', Kelly continues, since Jerome relied on Eusebius of Caesarea 'quite uncritically' but often 'through sheer carelessness, he misunderstood or mistranslated him'.² The tenor is clear, and by no means limited to Kelly.³ The *De viris illustribus* is most often used by scholars as a source of information about the authors contained within the text or as a way to uncover the contents of Jerome's library and the possible extent of his learning.⁴ The content

¹ J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (New York, 1975), 174.

² *Ibid.*, 176–7. The Eusebian dependence was first illustrated by S. Sychowski, *Hieronymus als Litterarhistoriker. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung der Schrift des h. Hieronymus 'De viris illustribus'*, Kirchengeschichtliche Studien 2.2 (Münster, 1894). See also C.A. Bernouilli, ed., *Hieronymus und Gennadius: De viris inlustribus* (Freiberg and Leipzig, 1895); P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en Occident, de Macrobe à Cassiodore*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1948), 67–115; and more recently, on the method of Jerome's adaptation of Eusebius in his *Chronicon* and subsequent use of the *Chronicon* in composing the *De viris illustribus*, see A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, 'The Biographical Method of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*', *StPat* 15.1 (1984).

³ See, for instance, E.D. Hunt, 'From Dalmatia to the Holy Land: Jerome and the World of Late Antiquity', *JRS* 67 (1977), 167; M. Vessey, 'The Forging of Orthodoxy in Latin Christian Literature: A Case Study', *JECS* 4.4 (1996), 508; J. Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game: Bibliography, Celebrity, and Primacy in Late Antique Spain', *JECS* 20.4 (2012), 616.

⁴ As only a sample, see K.K. Hulley, 'Principles of Textual Criticism Known to St. Jerome', *HSCP* 55 (1944), 87; W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum: ein Versuch ihrer Deutung, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, i.2 (Munich, 1971); T.M. Tanner, 'A History of Early Christian Libraries from Jesus to Jerome', *The Journal of Library History* 14.4 (1979), 416–20, 423–6; P. Nautin, 'La liste des oeuvres de Jérôme dans le *De uiris inlustribus*', *Orpheus* 5 (1984), 319–34; M. Starowieyski, 'Les

is also typically viewed as another way by which the prickly Jerome attacked his enemies, either by what he wrote about them or what he did not, as well as a way by which Jerome praised his friends.⁵ Lastly, Jerome is accused of self-aggrandizement because of the rather extensive description of himself in the final entry of the work.⁶

These points are not incorrect. The work is rushed, incomplete, and alternately flattering and insulting. But aside from its use as 'propagandist history', what were Jerome's intentions in composing the *De viris illustribus*? Although he claimed that it was written in opposition to pagan opponents of Christianity, it seems clear that first, this stated purpose was not his intended purpose; second, there was a need in the fourth century for a new genre of literature, namely, reference handbooks of Christian authors for use in intra-Christian debates; and third, that Jerome's *De viris illustribus* served this purpose after publication both during and after Jerome's life.⁷

Jerome himself offered two reasons for composing the *De viris illustribus*. First of all, a friend of his urged him to compose it with Suetonius' *De viris illustribus* as a model: 'You have urged me, Dexter, in following [Suetonius] Tranquillus, to set in order the ecclesiastic authors and do for our own that which he did in recounting the important men of pagan literature.'⁸ Modern scholars have been

De viris illustribus comme source pour l'histoire de la littérature chrétienne ancienne', *Pomoerium* 1 (1994), 127–38; B. Jeanjean, *Saint Jérôme et l'hérésie* (Paris, 1999), 100 and 118 on the *De viris illustribus* in general and throughout concerning individual authors contained within Jerome's work; L. Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (New Haven, 2001), 131; M.J. Edwards, 'Dating Arnobius: Why Discount the Evidence of Jerome?', *Antiquité tardive* 12 (2004), 263–71; M.H. Williams, *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship* (Chicago, 2006), 151–7; *idem* and A. Grafton, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 183–4.

⁵ H. Vogels, 'Ambrosiaster und Hieronymus', *RBén* 66 (1956), 15; Kelly, *Jerome*, 177; S. Pricoco, 'Motivi polemici e prospettive classicistiche nel *De viris illustribus* di Girolamo', *SicGymn* 32 (1979), 69–99; Ceresa-Gastaldo, 'The Biographical Method of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*', 56; S. Rebenich, *Hieronymus und sein Kreis. Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Stuttgart, 1992), 214–5, 223; Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game', 614–6; A. Cain, *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2009), 62.

⁶ Kelly, *Jerome*, 177; A. Cain, 'Vox clamantis in deserto: Rhetoric, Reproach, and the Forging of Ascetic Authority in Jerome's Letters from the Syrian Desert', *JTS* 57.2 (2006), 512, calls it 'a conspicuously audacious move' and 'a flashy piece of self-promotion'; *ibid.*, *The Letters of Jerome*, 3, 13.

⁷ H. Koeppler, 'De viris illustribus and Isidore of Seville', *JTS* 37 (1936), 16, suggests that it may have been used as such in a later medieval monastery, and Rebenich, *Hieronymus und sein Kreis*, 197 describes the work 'Als bibliographischer Index sozusagen' but for modern-day studies. Neither discusses this facet of the *De viris illustribus* as an aspect of its composition or function in late antiquity.

⁸ *De viris illustribus*, pr.: *Hortaris me, Dexter, ut Tranquillum sequens, ecclesiasticos Scriptores in ordinem digeram et quod ille in enumerandis Gentilium litterarum Viris fecit*

happy to accept this description, situating Jerome in a long line of bibliographers beginning with Callimachus.⁹

It should be noted here that any criticism of Jerome for his omissions ascribes to him motives other than Suetonius'. Suetonius, in the prologue to what survives of his section *De grammaticis*, described his scope thus: 'These are for the most part the eminent teachers, and those about whom it is possible to relate something in our appraisal.'¹⁰ Suetonius, at any rate, explicitly stated that he is *not* providing a comprehensive list of grammarians. The work covered only most (*fere*) of the important grammarians. Less important authors had no place within it. If Jerome truly was consciously imitating Suetonius, then omissions ought to be expected.

Jerome's second stated reason for composing the *De viris illustribus* is far more interesting. Jerome bombastically declared, 'Let therefore the rabid dogs against Christ, Celsus, Porphyry, Julian, and let their followers, who reckon that the Church has no philosophers or eloquent or learned men, learn how many and what sort of men founded it, built it, and decorated it; and let them cease to argue that our faith is of such rustic simplicity, and let them recognize their own ignorance.'¹¹ Modern scholars have also accepted this explanation at face value; one even adds in Jewish opponents to Christianity as well, writing that Jerome 'wanted to undermine those pagans and Jews, who argued that Christianity was an unsophisticated religion, by demonstrating that the Christian past was peopled by many distinguished intellectuals.'¹² So too does Kelly take Jerome's statement, describing the *De viris illustribus* as a work of 'signal apologetic value', and states, 'Jerome came some way to achieving' his goal.¹³

But it seems unlikely that Jerome would have convinced any pagan opponent, let alone one like Porphyry, that Christianity had a long tradition of philosophy, eloquence and learnedness by showing them a simple list of authors, about most of whom he says very little. Certainly he would not have convinced anyone of Christianity's literary superiority with an entry like Titus of Bostra's, which in its entirety simply stated, 'Titus, bishop of Bostra under emperors Julian and Jovian, wrote powerful books against the Manichaeans, and some other volumes. Then

Illustribus, ego [Al. id ego] in nostris faciam. All translations are the author's.

⁹ For instance, Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game', 615–6: 'Jerome states that the work was designed to emulate that of Suetonius ... As we can see, Jerome drew inspiration from and directly associated himself with the classical tradition.'

¹⁰ *De grammaticis*, 4: *Clari professores et de quibus prodi possit aliquid dum taxat a nobis fere hi fuerunt.*

¹¹ *De vir. ill. pr.*: *Discant ergo Celsus, Porphyrius, Julianus, rabidi adversus Christum canes, discant eorum sectatores (qui putant Ecclesiam nullos philosophos et eloquentes, nullos habuisse doctores) quanti et quales viri eam fundaverint, exstruxerint [Al. struxerint], et adornaverint; et desinant fidem nostram rusticae tantum simplicitatis arguere, suamque potius imperitiam agnoscant.*

¹² Wood, 'Playing the Fame Game', 616. See also Starowieyski, 'Les *De viris illustribus* comme source pour l'histoire de la littérature chrétienne ancienne', 127.

¹³ Kelly, *Jerome*, 175.

he died under Valens.¹⁴ Such terse observations would hardly have overturned anyone's preconceptions about Christian literature.

Jerome should also arouse suspicion because while he claimed to be cataloguing Christian men who were philosophers, eloquent, or learned, he included several whom he explicitly claimed were *none* of these things. Concerning Fortunatianus, for instance, Jerome stated that he wrote commentaries 'in a rustic style'.¹⁵ He claimed that Diodorus of Tarsus followed Eusebius of Emesa, 'whose sense he followed, but whose eloquence he could not imitate, on account of his ignorance of secular literature.'¹⁶ Lastly, he called Tiberian of Baetica's language 'pompous and orderly', or, if we take Richardson's translation, 'pompous and mongrel'.¹⁷ Jerome compared this same Tiberian to how 'in the Holy Scriptures, a dog returns to its vomit.'¹⁸ Not exactly *philosophus*, *eloquens*, or *doctus*. What was Jerome doing, then, when he included men like these, if not trying to convince his pagan adversaries of Christianity's literary virtues?

The answer requires a broader look at what was happening in Christian literature at the time of composition of the *De viris illustribus*. The Christian literature most similar to Jerome's *De viris illustribus* was not the lists of late antique grammarians, poets, historians or orators, as Suetonius' lists contained, but lists of heretics and their associated heresies. From the 370s up to 600, Judith McClure counts 17 of these so-called 'handbooks against heresy'. From the 370s to the 430s in the west alone there were no fewer than five, and certain Greek handbooks like Epiphanius' *Panarion* were also popular in the west.¹⁹

Writing about heretics and heresies was nothing new, of course. One of the earliest extant pieces of Christian literature in the west is the second-century Irenaeus of Lyons' *Adversus haereses*. Books like these, however, were out of date and very lengthy. This new genre of handbooks against heresies compiled information not for study but for reference. The need for such a reference is demonstrable. Quodvultdeus, according to Augustine, asked the latter to write his short heresiology because

¹⁴ *De vir. ill.* 103: *Titus, Bostrenus episcopus, sub Juliano et Joviano principibus, fortis adversum Manichaeos scripsit libros, et nonnulla volumina alia. Moritur autem sub Valente.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 97: *... brevi et rustico sermone scripsit commentarios ...*

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 119: *... cuius cum sensum secutus sit, eloquentiam imitari non potuit, propter ignorantiam saecularium litterarum.*

¹⁷ *... tumentis compositoque sermone.* Richardson's translation can be found in P. Schaff and H. Wace, eds, *Jerome: The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Series II, Volume III, trans. E.C. Richardson (Edinburgh and Grand Rapids, 1892), 383.

¹⁸ *De vir. ill.* 123: *et iuxta sanctam Scripturam, canis reversus ad vomitum suum* [Prov. 16:11; II Pet 2:22].

¹⁹ J. McClure, 'Handbooks against Heresy in the West, from the Late Fourth to the Late Sixth Centuries', *JTS* 30 (1979), 186–97.

'... if anyone should wish to understand an objection or refutation more deeply, more fully, and more clearly, he might be directed by some letter of instruction (drawn together from all authors, as it were) towards the splendid and magnificent volumes in which the matter was fully treated by others and especially by Your Reverence.' When you say this, you indicate that you desire a single thing, like a letter of instruction, about all of these matters.²⁰

By 596, Gregory the Great's first step upon hearing the unfamiliar name of Eudoxius, named to him as a heretic by Cyriacus of Constantinople, was to check the handbooks of Philastrius of Brescia and Augustine.²¹

If Jerome's *De viris illustribus* found its closest parallel in these reference handbooks against heresies, it stands to reason that Jerome's work also functioned as a reference text. The similarities in form imply a similarity in function. Its contents, on the other hand, suggest that it was a reference text not concerning heretics but concerning noteworthy authors. Was there a need for such a reference?

Mark Vessey makes an interesting distinction in fourth-century Christian literature between two types of Christian argumentation, what he calls the *tractatio scripturarum*, that is, the interpretation of scripture, and the *retractatio patrum*, that is, reference to earlier Christian authors.²² The latter became prominent in the latter part of the fourth century.²³ Several of these instances of citation demonstrate one of the problems with the *retractatio patrum*. How was one to know which works were genuinely by the authors that carried their name? Forgery was by no means a novelty of the fourth century, but it had become

²⁰ *De haeresibus* pr. 4: *tu autem ut velut quodam inquis ex omnibus concepto commonitorio, si quis aliquam objectionem aut convictionem uberius, plenius, ac planius nosse voluerit, ad opulenta et magnifica volumina transmittatur; quibus a diversis, et praecipue inquis a Veneratione tua in hoc ipsum constat esse elaboratum. Quae cum dicis, unum quasi commonitorium de his omnibus te desiderare significas.* Cf. Aug., Ep. 221.3 (Rufinus' original request, which Augustine has reproduced nearly word for word). Augustine's first impulse was to tell Rufinus to have Epiphanius' *Panarion* translated. For the translation of *commonitorium* as 'letter of instruction' and the significance of the word in general, see Lizzi Testa, 'Un'epistola speciale: il "commonitorium"', in F.E. Consolino, ed., *Forme letterarie nella produzione latina di IV-V secolo* (Rome, 2003), 53–89.

²¹ McClure, 'Handbooks against Heresy', 186–7.

²² Vessey, 'The Forging of Orthodoxy', 495–6.

²³ Vessey, 'The Forging of Orthodoxy', 497–9 gives the example of a secretary working for the bishop of Rome (possibly Jerome himself) who made reference to Athanasius in a dispute with some Apollinarians. The Luciferians Faustinus and Marcellinus, in a petition to Theodosius in 383 or 384, made reference to two letters (now regarded as forgeries) in which Athanasius praised Lucifer (*Libellus precum* 88). Augustine was also an early adopter of patristic citation: É. Rebillard, 'A New Style of Argument in Christian Polemic: Augustine and the Use of Patristic Citations', *J ECS* 8.4 (2000), 559–78.

an ever-increasing problem for Christian authors as the volume of Christian literature rose dramatically.²⁴

There was an even more fundamental problem with the *retractio patrum*. Who exactly were the fathers that one should have considered citing? In other words, who was noteworthy enough to warrant reference? It is in this function that Jerome's *De viris illustribus* should be situated, rather than as a polemic against pagans. The book functioned not as a reference manual to discover who was a heretic and why, but as a reference work that Christian authors could consult to learn about authors whom others referenced in the course of Christian disputes. The *De viris illustribus* was incomplete, to be sure, with many authors' works not listed. Despite these deficiencies, it may well have been useful, just as Gregory the Great found Philastrius and Augustine useful – even though neither in the end helped him identify Eudoxius, since they too were incomplete.

The *De viris illustribus* may have been used this way given its similarities with these handbooks against heresy. That, of course, is not the same as saying that it was used in this way. Trying to determine not what a text *says* but how it was *read* is a task fraught with difficulty in any field. We are fortunate with respect to this text that many authors both in Jerome's lifetime and afterwards discuss the *De viris illustribus*.

The most extensive discussion was in Augustine's 40th epistle, which is also the 67th in Jerome's catalogue. In this epistle, which concerned itself with the *De viris illustribus*, Augustine, annoyed with Jerome, told him, 'I already know that we should approve and praise whatever is right and true not only in ecclesiastic literature, but in all literature' in the context of a discussion of the propriety of Origen's writings. This certainly suggests that the subject in question was not how the *De viris illustribus* might best help convince pagans of Christianity's literary greatness but how one should use past authors in Christian disputes.²⁵

Augustine also asked Jerome to expand the *De viris illustribus*, telling him that the book 'would be more useful if, when those whom you know to be heretics are named ... you would add in for what things they ought to be avoided.'²⁶ Should Jerome be unwilling, Augustine suggested that he write a second work on the subject. This implies that Augustine saw the function of the two as similar, since Augustine allowed for Jerome either to write a new book or simply to add to his

²⁴ See B. Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery: The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics* (Oxford and New York, 2012), 75, for a number of fourth-century forgeries which are extant or which are discussed by ancient authors. The list is, as Ehrman himself points out, not comprehensive (the Luciferian-forged letters of Athanasius, for instance, remain unmentioned).

²⁵ Aug. Ep. 40.9 (= Jer. Ep. 67.9): ... iam sciebam non tantum in ecclesiasticis litteris, sed in omnibus recta et vera quae invenerimus approbare et laudare.

²⁶ Ibid.: In libro etiam quo cunctos, quorum meminisse potuisti, scriptores ecclesiasticos et eorum scripta commemorasti, commodius, ut arbitror, fieret, si nominatis eis quos haeresiotas esse nosti ... subiungeres etiam in quibus cavendi essent.

old one. The new book would have clearly been a heresiology, and thus the similar function in question here was being able to make quick reference concerning authors. Furthermore, this proposed work on heresy was meant, Augustine wrote, 'for the information of those for whom there is no time, on account of their other business, or who cannot read and understand so many things on account of the foreign language.'²⁷ If the proposed work was essentially the same as the *De viris illustribus*, but with a slightly different subject, the same words can apply to the *De viris illustribus*: it was a work meant to inform those who had no time to read extensively or who had no thorough knowledge of Greek.

Not only did Augustine put these two works, one real and one proposed, alongside one another, he elsewhere implied that he thought the purpose of having this knowledge of ecclesiastic authors in the first place was for Christian disputation, not anti-pagan polemic. In his *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*, he suggested that Jerome's knowledge of ecclesiastic literature functioned to provide him with patristic citations. Augustine described him as 'The saintly Jerome, a man well-known for, and who works hard at, his excellent teaching, who still today occupies himself in ecclesiastic literature', and claimed on a particular theological point that 'If we could easily ask him', meaning Jerome, 'how many interpreters of the holy scriptures and writers of Christian disputations, in both languages, could he recall!'²⁸ This work was published long after the *De viris illustribus*, but the references to Jerome's knowledge of interpreters and writers make it likely that Augustine was referring to Jerome's knowledge as demonstrated in the *De viris illustribus*. The purpose of being familiar with this bulk of literature was not to convince pagans of Christianity's literary greatness but to serve as a catalogue for Christian disputes with other Christians.

Moreover, the language that Augustine used in his 40th epistle also presupposed that the *De viris illustribus* had a specific functional value. Augustine wrote that it would be 'more useful' or 'more convenient' (*commodius*) if the work included specific information concerning the heretical beliefs of the heretics whom Jerome mentions.²⁹ The comparative form of the adjective implies that the work must have already been useful or convenient for some purpose. Likewise, Augustine also said of the *De viris illustribus* that 'I completely approved of this book written by you

²⁷ Ibid.: ... in notitiam eorum quibus aut non vacat propter alia negotia, aut non valent propter alienam linguam tam multa legere atque cognoscere.

²⁸ *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* 3.6.12: sanctus Hieronymus, qui hodieque in litteris ecclesiasticis tam excellentis doctrinae fama ac labore versatur...si facile interrogare possemus, quam multos utriusque linguae divinarum scripturarum tractatores et christianarum disputationum scriptores commemorate. On the often unpleasant relationship between Jerome and Augustine, see J. Ebbeler, *Disciplining Christians: Correction and Community in Augustine's Letters* (Oxford and New York, 2012), 75–80, 101–50.

²⁹ See n. 25.

as wholly useful (*sane utiliter*).³⁰ But as noted above, it seems unlikely that it was useful for demonstrating the superiority of Christian literature to pagan readers. Its utility must lie elsewhere.

Jerome himself provided an example of how such a text might have been 'useful' for Christians in managing their growing corpus of noteworthy texts. In a letter to his friend Desiderius, Jerome offered whatever treatises of his own that Desiderius did not possess. His first impulse was to direct Desiderius to Marcella or Domnio in Rome.³¹ But he then referred Desiderius to his personal entry in the *De viris illustribus*, saying 'It was necessary for me briefly to note what I had written up to the fourteenth year of Emperor Theodosius [393] ... When you get this book,' he continued, 'I will have whatever you are lacking from the list copied out piece by piece, if you wish.'³² The *De viris illustribus* in this example clearly functioned not as propaganda against pagans, but as a way for one Christian, Desiderius, to confirm that he had the 'complete catalogue' of Jerome's writings or to obtain them.³³

The language that Augustine used also indicates that Jerome's work was used differently than Jerome's introduction implied. Augustine understood why Jerome might not have wanted to include more information about heretics, as he opened his recommendation of a separate heresiology by saying, 'But if by chance you do not wish to burden (*onerare*) that volume ...' with added information about heretics and their heresies.³⁴ Yet only a handful of heretics even appeared in the book itself, so adding information about them would hardly have mattered much to the overall size. Also, in the heresiology that Augustine proposed, Jerome would only have needed to publish 'one small book, briefly'.³⁵ *Uno libello breviter* hardly sounds like an amount of material that would have burdened his book. In fact, the entire *De viris illustribus* is a slim 12,165 words, including the prologue and the index. To suggest that a little information might have been 'burdensome' suggests that the work would have lost some of its value if it were made much longer. The most useful aspect that might have been lost in a longer work surely would have

³⁰ Aug. Ep. 40.2 (= Jer. Ep. 67.2): *Sane utiliter a te conscriptum eundem librum satis approbamus.*

³¹ Jer. Ep. 47.3: *Quod si exemplaria libuerit mutuari, vel a sancta Marcella, quae manet [a] in Aventino, vel a Lot temporis nostri, Domnionē, viro sanctissimo accipere poteris.*

³² Jer. Ep. 47.3: *... ubi mihi necesse fuit usque ad decimum quartum annum Theodosii Principis quae scripserim breviter annotare: quem librum cum a supradictis sumpseris, quidquid de indice minus habueris, paulatim scribi faciam, si volueris.*

³³ That so many of the entries have descriptions of texts rather than specific titles can in part be explained by the difficulty of enforcing proper titlature in antiquity: see N. Horsfall, 'Some Problems of Titlature in Roman Literary History,' *BICS* 28.1 (1981), 103–14. Augustine himself is uncertain of the title of the *De viris illustribus*, which came to him under the title *Epitaphium*: Aug. Ep. 40.2 (= Jer. Ep. 67.2).

³⁴ Aug. Ep. 40.9 (= Jer. Ep. 67.9): *Aut si illud volumen forte onerare noluisti...*

³⁵ Ibid.: *... uno libello breviter ...*

been the ability to find specific authors quickly. To this same end, that is, finding authors quickly, Jerome also included a table of contents that listed the authors contained within.³⁶ It was not, then, a concrete demonstration of Christian literary superiority but a searchable list of discrete information that even came with a finding aid.

The *De viris illustribus* had a lengthy afterlife in the Latin west. The most important continuations of the text were produced by Gennadius of Marseille, about 100 years after Jerome, and Isidore of Seville, a little over 100 years after Gennadius. The reason for this continued popularity appears not to have been as a tool to convince educated pagans of Christianity's superiority but the same as it was in Jerome's letter to Desiderius: as a catalogue of important authors and their works.

This much is suggested by the fact that Cassiodorus praised the work of Jerome and Gennadius for having briefly covered the 'various fathers' and 'their works'.³⁷ For Cassiodorus, then, the most important aspects of the *De viris illustribus* (Cassiodorus treats Jerome's and Gennadius' volumes as a single work) was that it quickly (*breviter*) surveyed both the authors and what they wrote. Even more tellingly, Cassiodorus praised Gennadius, saying that he 'judged most definitively concerning those who wrote about the divine law'.³⁸ Since Cassiodorus had just mentioned the authors and their works, it logically follows that he was praising Gennadius' attention to which authors were being included as well as which works.

Cassiodorus also suggested that the *De viris illustribus* of both Jerome and Gennadius had a practical value other than as propaganda against pagans: 'I have placed these together in one body,' he wrote, 'lest a slowness of investigating (*cognoscendae*) the material be occasioned by the separation of the codices.'³⁹ The small size of the volume suggests that the slowness in question revolved around finding information in the documents if they were kept separate, not in understanding the material as one complete unit. When Isidore used Jerome and Gennadius' *De viris illustribus* it was indeed in one volume, and he also mentioned in particular the fact that the *De viris illustribus* of Jerome and Gennadius had an index or catalogue (*indiculo*).⁴⁰ That something like this warranted a special

³⁶ This table of contents appears in all of the manuscripts, including the two oldest, eighth-century, manuscripts, one from Corbie (Paris, *BNF*, lat. 12161) and one from Italy, possibly Rome (*BAV*, reg. lat. 2077).

³⁷ *De div. lect.* 1.17.7: ... *diversos patres atque opuscula eorum breviter et honoravit et tetigit* ...

³⁸ *Ibid.*: ... *Gennadii Massiliensis, qui de scriptoribus legis divinae, quos studio perquisiverat, certissimus iudicavit.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*: *Hos in uno corpore sociatos reliqui, ne per diversos codices cognoscendae rei tarditas afferatur.*

⁴⁰ *Etymologiae* 6.6.2: *Hieronymus quoque atque Gennadius ecclesiasticos scriptores toto orbe quaerentes ordine persecuti sunt, eorumque studia in uno voluminis indiculo comprehenderunt.*

mention indicates that being able to quickly look up specific authors was an important part of the work's value.

Cassiodorus even explicitly stated that the work was used in the course of argumentation among Christians. He began by explaining why Christian authors produced literature in the first place: divine inspiration, consolatory letters, sermons to the people, and disputes with heretics.⁴¹ But then he explained why this was relevant for the reader of Jerome and Gennadius. According to Cassiodorus, one could use the *De viris illustribus* as a reference guide when composing Christian literature:

Then in that most holy and eloquent choir of Fathers, you can choose one for yourself with whom you can speak most persuasively. It is also difficult to say how frequently the occasion is found in which they powerfully explain the Holy Scriptures in the most suitable places, so that quickly going over them you may learn what you know you have negligently passed over.⁴²

Cassiodorus wrote nothing about the value of the work in combatting paganism. Instead, the reader was expected to use Jerome and Gennadius to determine what authors he should cite. The value of the text was, again, that one could quickly (*subito*) learn about all of the authors that one did not have time to read thoroughly. The passage is reminiscent of a conversation between a young Queen Victoria and Lord Melbourne concerning her summary education in the Latin classics, as recalled in her diary: 'Said I thought I had benefited but little by what I had learnt, for that I could not construe any quotation; but Lord M. said, "Oh! yes you have" (benefited). "You know that there are such books and such authors, and what they are about," which is very true.'⁴³ Cassiodorus' description suggests that works like the *De viris illustribus* functioned in much the same way for those too busy to read these authors themselves, allowing readers to know that there were such books and such authors, and what they were about.

In sum, the ways in which these later authors used the *De viris illustribus* suggests that the text was used as a reference handbook of important ecclesiastic authors.

⁴¹ *De div. lect.* 1.17.8: *Sequuntur enim multarum lectionum venerabilium conditores. Modo enim doctissimi viri aut libros divina inspiratione conficiunt, aut invicem se epistolarum gratia consolantur; aut populos dulcissimo sermone deliniunt, aut cum haereticis vivacissima nimis altercatione confligunt; ita ut quidam eorum singulari certamine controversias subeant, et iudicibus mediis gloriosa disceptatione confligant. Sic cum pravus quisque destruitur (praestante Domino) fidelissimus inde solidatur.*

⁴² *Ibid.*: *Tunc in illo choro sanctissimo atque facundissimo Patrum, tibi eum eligere poteris, cum quo suavissime colloquaris. Difficile quoque dictu est quam frequenti occasione reperta, Scripturas sanctas locis aptissimis potenter aperiant; ut subito transiens discas quod te negligenter praeteriisse cognoscis.*

⁴³ V. Esher, ed., *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria: A Selection of Her Majesty's Diaries Between the Years 1832 and 1840* (London and New York, 1914), II.51, with great appreciation to G. Greatrex for sharing this anecdote.

This may help explain the final chapter of the *De viris illustribus*. This chapter has earned Jerome much ire, it being – after several very short notices – an extensive catalogue of Jerome's own writings.⁴⁴ To be sure, this was self-aggrandizing. The purpose was, first and foremost, to demonstrate how superior Jerome was to all, or at least most, of the authors of Christianity's past. Given the purpose of the text, however, there may have been another purpose behind its inclusion. This discussion of the *De viris illustribus* began with a question: how did ancient Christians know which authors were worth discussing? But this merely begs the question: how did they know who was qualified to judge which authors were worth discussing? In other words, what made Jerome qualified to compose this list? And perhaps it was to answer this question (in addition to flattering himself) that Jerome provided his credentials in his final chapter. By portraying himself as the preeminent scholar of his day, Jerome also portrayed himself as the preeminent authority on the subject of Christian scholarship – a claim which, as noted above, Augustine seems to have agreed with (or at least, was willing to say as much by the time he composed the *De peccatorum meritis et remissione*).⁴⁵

It seems unlikely that Jerome was attempting to convert any pagans with the *De viris illustribus*. Instead, as the volume of Christian literature grew, as this literature was increasingly used in reference to Christian disputes, and as instances of forgery thus became increasingly relevant, there was a growing need in Christian disputation for a reference guide to Christian authors and their texts. The *De viris illustribus* filled this need adequately both during Jerome's lifetime and after his death. This was one of the first attempts – granted, a clumsy, incomplete, and pompous first attempt – to provide some sort of guide to the use of the writings of ancient Christians. In some sense, then, we might consider the *De viris illustribus* one of the earliest expressions of patristics as a field of study.

⁴⁴ *De vir. ill.* 135.

⁴⁵ Nor was this attempt limited to this text alone; as humble as he tries to present himself, Jerome attempted throughout his life to justify his position as Christianity's preeminent scholar. See Williams, *The Monk and the Book*, 97–131.

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Chapter 4

The Transformation of Heresiology in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Cyprus

Young Richard Kim

Introduction

Heresiology is a notoriously difficult genre to work with.¹ The sheer volume, and at times, mind-numbing tedium of the minutiae found in its representative writings can be quite off-putting. But perhaps more than the length or the overabundance of detail, it is the spirit of heresiology that is so dissonant with modern sensibilities. Heresiologies were rhetorical works constructed by authors who had a vested interest in presenting the ‘other’ in the worst possible light, sometimes by duplicitous and underhanded means, and at the same time the heresiologists claimed an irrefutable hold on the absolute truth, as they articulated and emphasised the apostolic pedigree and the orthodox purity and exclusivity of their own beliefs. Heresiologies, however, might still contain some traces of the ideas and practices of so-called ‘heretics’, and thus scholars continue to turn to them, at least as starting points or bases of comparison in those rare instances when they have extant writings with which such appraisals can be made. Unfortunately, too few texts of those on the losing end of the struggle over Christian belief have survived, and scholars are often left with little recourse but to resort to the heresiologists to attempt to recover and understand marginalised Christianities on their own terms.

Fortunately, the work of Le Boulluec has long since reoriented scholarly understanding of the genre, and few today would approach heresiologies primarily as repositories of reliable information on the beliefs and practices of those Christianities condemned as heretical.² He has demonstrated that orthodoxy and heresy were culturally constructed and that the rhetoric of the heresiologists reflected more their own priorities and attempts to (mis)represent – and thereby

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¹ A. Cameron, ‘How to Read Heresiology’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33.3 (2003), 471–92.

² A. Le Boulluec, *La notion d’hérésie dans la littérature grecque IIe–IIIe siècles* (Paris, 1985).

condemn – heretics. Furthermore, as Cameron has observed, heresiologies were ‘performative or functional texts’; they played ideological defence, attempted to form identities, and ordered and controlled knowledge.³ These insights have freed the modern scholar from trying to read them merely for what they said about the ‘other’ they condemned, and she is empowered to consider heresiology in and of itself, as a literary genre and expression of rhetoric, and to examine critically heresiologies for what they say about the men who conceived and composed them, their historical contexts and imagined realities, the presumed audiences who wanted them, and their underlying social, political and theological functions. Because, however, of the cumbersome bulk of the extant major heresiologies, scholars have generally treated them individually and have seldom considered them as part of a long development.⁴ But if situated within the cultural and ecclesiastical contexts in which they were written and then compared one to another, heresiologies can reveal a process of evolution. In other words, heresiology was never a static genre, and it changed with the shifting circumstances and rhetorical needs of the Christian church in the Roman empire and beyond. More specifically, the argument of this paper is that the *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Cyprus represented an apex in the development of heresiology.⁵ Epiphanius harnessed in an innovative way the powerful rhetoric found in the categorisation, organisation and condemnation of heresies to justify a discursive, imagined (yet potentially realised) violence against heretics.

Heresiology as a Shifting (Yet Stable) Frontier

Heresiology (or heresiography) was certainly not unique to Christianity, and other religious traditions have exhibited parallel and later developments in the articulation of some form of orthodoxy set in opposition to a constructed heresy or heresies.⁶ Christian heresiology arguably began with the efforts of Justin

³ Cameron, ‘How to Read’, 474.

⁴ A notable exception is H. Inglebert, *Interpretatio Christiana: Les mutations des savoirs (cosmographie, géographie, ethnographie, histoire) dans l’Antiquité chrétienne (30–630 après J.-C.)*, Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité 166 (Paris, 2001), 393–461. See also G. Aragione, ‘Una «storia» universale dell’eresia: Il *Panarion* di Epifanio’, in G. Pini, ed., *Epifanio di Salamina: Panarion Libro primo* (Brescia, 2010), 5–75, especially 30–59.

⁵ On Epiphanius and his heresiological methods, see A. Pourkier, *L’hérésiologie chez Épiphane de Salamine*, Christianisme Antique 4 (Paris, 1992), and an older critique in F. Young, ‘Did Epiphanius know what he meant by Heresy?’, *StPat* 17 (1982), 199–205.

⁶ On heresiography in and beyond Christianity, see J. Henderson, *The Construction of Orthodoxy and Heresy: Neo-Confucian, Islamic, Jewish, and Early Christian Patterns* (Albany, 1998). He uses the terms ‘heresiography’ and ‘heresiology’ interchangeably. On the development of Christian notions of heresy from the original Greek usage, see M. Simon, ‘From Greek Hairesis to Christian Heresy’, in W. Schoedel and R. Wilken, eds,

Martyr in the second century, and he wrote in a time when Christians were still very much in the process of forming and defining their own identity, especially *vis-à-vis* its relationship to Judaism.⁷ Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* is particularly useful for locating the cultural milieu in which he was dialectically articulating and defending the Christian faith, and recent scholarship has emphasised his role in the complicated process of 'separation' between the two monotheisms.⁸ In subsequent decades and centuries, Justin's heresiological successors continued to develop the genre with varying thematic emphases, but at the same time they maintained certain shared features and aims that were established by their predecessors. For example, a common element in the genre was the 'creation' of heresies by naming them, usually eponymously after the heresiarch, and then categorising and organising them, both thematically and chronologically, into a heresiological taxonomy.⁹ This was a process of ordering knowledge that reflected an encyclopedic tendency already well represented in the classical tradition.¹⁰ The function of this heresiological taxonomy was not just to provide knowledge per se,

Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition: In Honorem Robert Grant (Paris, 1979), 101–16; H. von Staden, 'Hairesis and Heresy: The Case of the *hairesis iatrikai*', in E. Sanders, ed., *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition, Vol. 3: Self Definition in the Greco-Roman World*, (Philadelphia, 1982), 76–100; Le Boulluec, *La notion*, 42–51; R. Norris, 'Heresy and Orthodoxy in the Later Second Century', *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 52 (1998), 43–59.

⁷ Unfortunately, his proper heresiology, the *Syntagma*, is not extant. On Justin Martyr as the first heresiologist, see Le Boulluec, *La notion*, 36–91, but also consider R. Lyman, '2002 NAPS Presidential Address: Hellenism and Heresy', *JECS* 11.2 (2003), 209–22. On the importance of heresy in the process of identity formation, see the introduction and collection of essays in E. Iricinschi and H. Zellentin, eds, *Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 119 (Tübingen, 2008). See also J. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford, 2004); D. Buell, *Why This New Race: Ethnic Reasoning in Early Christianity* (New York, 2005).

⁸ Cf. Justin Martyr, *dialogus cum Tryphone Iudaeo* 80.4. See D. Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia, 2004), with important modifications in idem, 'Rethinking Jewish Christianity: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category (to which is Appended a Correction of my *Border Lines*)', *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99.1 (2009), 7–36, but especially 33–6.

⁹ See, for example, R. Flower, 'Genealogies of Unbelief: Epiphanius of Salamis and Heresiological Authority' in C. Kelly, R. Flower and M. Williams, eds, *Unclassical Traditions, Volume II: Perspectives from East and West in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2011), 70–87 for how Epiphanius innovated his own heresiological taxonomy.

¹⁰ Henderson, *The Construction*, 26–7. See the introduction and contributions in J. König and T. Whitmarsh, eds, *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2007). The encyclopedic impulse was also applied to medical knowledge in late antiquity; see P. van der Eijk, 'Principles and Practices of Compilation and Abbreviation in the Medical "Encyclopedias" of Late Antiquity', in M. Horster and C. Reitz, eds, *Condensing Texts—Condensed Texts*, Palingenesia 98 (Stuttgart, 2010), 520–54.

but to control it and to create a rhetorical line of demarcation between the orthodox and the heretical other situated within a discourse of absolute difference.¹¹

The heresiologists, drawing on established traditions in Greek philosophy, also emphasised the concept of *diadochē*.¹² The heresiological understanding shifted its meaning from a generally neutral notion of masters passing on their knowledge to disciples to one defined by a binary opposition. Orthodox Christians, they claimed, traced their lineage directly to Jesus Christ, and they maintained the idea that they preserved and transmitted through the generations the correct beliefs and practices as established by Scripture and the Apostles.¹³ Heretics, on the other hand, descended from the arch-heresiarch Simon Magus, who was not surprisingly inspired by the Devil; and as each heresiarch passed on his teachings to the next, the errors compounded and became even more corrupt in each successive generation.¹⁴ The effect of this concept of succession was to reinforce further the unbridgeable divide between those who had received and bequeathed the truth and those who did not, like two parallel lines that never intersect. Heresy, so it seemed, actually had nothing to do with the true, original Christianity. And while it might have resembled orthodoxy and even deceitfully assumed the name of Christ, it was always fake, always a cheap counterfeit. Heresiology was a genre characterised by a totalising discourse, that is, the development and articulation of Christian thought toward a comprehensive reconfiguration of the human experience.¹⁵ The heresiologists redefined time, space, culture and empire in biblical terms in such a way that any knowledge, beliefs or practices that did not align with their precise understanding of orthodoxy could be condemned as heresy.¹⁶ Their world was painted in black and white, and their binary reality was the battleground where the forces of God's orthodox waged war against the Devil's heretical brood. This left no middle ground, and in fact, no room for compromise or dialogue. Heresiology espoused an all-or-none rhetoric.

Christian heresiologists maintained these themes and goals, even as they added further breadth in regard to what constituted heresy and intensified their rhetoric. Thus the genre exhibited both continuity and transformation, and in this

¹¹ On the classification of heresy as rhetorical strategy, see R. Lyman, 'A Topography of Heresy: Mapping the Rhetorical Creation of Arianism', in M. Barnes and D. Williams, eds, *Arianism After Arius: Essays on the Development of the Fourth Century Trinitarian Conflicts* (Edinburgh, 1993), 45–62. See also Henderson, *The Construction*, 120–34.

¹² On succession, see Le Boulluec, *La notion*, 40, 80–91, 162–73; Pourkier, *L'hérésiologie*, 53–63; Y. Kim, 'Reading the *Panarion* as Collective Biography: The Heresiarch as Unholy Man', *VChr* 64.4 (2010), 393–400.

¹³ Again, Henderson, *The Construction*, 89–95 has shown how common the notion of 'true transmission' was in other religious systems and their discourses on orthodoxy/heresy.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 134–7.

¹⁵ On the notion of 'totalising discourse', see throughout A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*, Sather Classical Lectures 55 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991).

¹⁶ For this process, see throughout Inglebert, *Interpretatio Christiana*.

way it was quintessentially late antique. For the purposes of this chapter, a more focused examination can elucidate the differences and developments in the genre over time. Indeed, a brief case study will illustrate how heresiology evolved in different historical circumstances and found a rhetorical apogee in the *Panarion* of Epiphanius. For example, the heresiological exposure and refutation of the Gnostic heresiarch Marcos was undertaken by Irenaeus, Hippolytus and Epiphanius, and each depended in part on his predecessor in his respective exposition of this heresy.¹⁷ There exists, of course, a massive bibliography on the subject of 'Gnosticism' and its problematic heresiological presentation; but for the purposes of this paper, the veracity (or not) of each account of Marcos is of minimal importance.¹⁸ What is more significant was how each heresiologist repackaged and presented the material he drew from his forerunners to fit his respective circumstances. The story generally goes that Marcos combined Gnostic heretical teachings with magical trickery, and he performed regularly in a sort of alchemic sleight-of-hand show to attract followers. At the heart of his spectacle was the manipulation of the physical and chemical properties of certain liquids, which appeared to audiences as magical. In one rite his followers would prepare three chalices filled with white wine, and then Marcos would utter an incantation after which the liquid in the chalices magically changed colors, one red, one purple and the other dark blue.¹⁹ In addition, he apparently focused his manipulative attention on women, usually the best-dressed, highest ranking and wealthiest, convincing them that he had the power to bestow upon them the gift of prophecy, and he used aphrodisiac potions and liquid concoctions to seduce them.²⁰

Irenaeus, writing in the late second century, perceived that the apostolic and orthodox faith was under attack by heretics like Marcos, who claimed the name of Christ for themselves. At the heart of his *Adversus haereses* was an emphasis on the so-called rule or canon of truth as a coherent set of apostolic beliefs by which all other beliefs could be evaluated and judged.²¹ Irenaeus' heresiological concerns mirrored the ongoing process of identity and ecclesiological formation of the time, which saw a gradual shift away from the question of Judaism to a struggle against other Christianities, and his appeal to this rule or standard of faith was a necessary

¹⁷ Irenaeus (Iren.), *adversus haereses* (*haer.*) 1.13.1–22.1; Hippolytus (Hipp.), *Refutatio omnium haeresium* (*haer.*) 6.39.1–55.3; Epiphanius (Epiph.), *Panarion* (*Pan.*) 34. See G. Vallée, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics: Irenaeus, Hippolytus and Epiphanius*, Studies in Christianity and Judaism 1 (Waterloo, ON, 1981) for an earlier attempt at a comparative study of the three heresiologists. Both Hippolytus (*haer.* 6.42.1–2, 6.55.1–3) and Epiphanius (*Pan.* 34.2.1–20.12) acknowledged their debt to Irenaeus for their respective entries.

¹⁸ A useful recent examination of this problem is K. King, *What Is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, MA, 2003).

¹⁹ Epiph., *Pan.* 34.1.1–7. See also Iren., *haer.* 1.13.1–2; Hipp., *haer.* 6.39.1–40.4 for descriptions of other rites using liquids.

²⁰ Iren., *haer.* 1.13.3; Epiph., *Pan.* 34.2.6–11.

²¹ On the development of Irenaeus' heresiology, see La Boulluec, *La notion*, 113–88.

retorical tool in response to a heresiological battle that was intra-Christianity. Irenaeus began his refutation of Marcos by situating him in a succession of heresiarchs: 'Indeed there is another someone from among them, Marcus by name, and he boasts himself a corrector of his teacher'.²² He then broadly structured his attack by introducing the flawed character of the heresiarch, describing the particular practices and beliefs of the Marcosians, and finally refuting their cosmology and theology, with an emphasis on their flawed exegesis of Scripture.²³ Irenaeus punctuated his discussion by reaffirming what true Christians believed about the nature of God the Father and the Son. As he did with his refutation of Marcos, Irenaeus regularly infused invective into his heresiology, berating heretics for their blasphemy, foolishness, impiety, deception and demonic inspiration, among other things. He established a clear line of demarcation between orthodox and heretic, between those who possessed the truth and those who espoused manifold heretical opinions. The Apostles had received the truth from Christ and handed it down to subsequent generations that safeguarded it by the succession of orthodox bishops, and this truth could be formulated and expressed in the essential 'Rule of Truth':

Therefore, holding this 'Rule', notwithstanding that they [heretics] very much say various and many things, we easily make clear that they have deviated from the truth. For almost all that are heretics say that there is one God, but through their wicked thinking they alter it [the truth], being ingrates to him who made them, just as also the heathen through their idolatry. Moreover, they despise the creative work of God, speaking against their own salvation, and being their own bitterest accusers and false witnesses. Indeed, they will rise again in the flesh (although they may not wish it), that they may acknowledge the greatness of the one raising them from the dead. Moreover, on account of their disbelief, they will not be numbered among the just.²⁴

²² Iren., *haer.* 1.13.1: *Alius uero quidam ex his qui sunt apud eos, magistri emendatorem se esse glorians, Marcus autem illi nomen* (all citations of the Latin text are from A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, eds, *Irénée de Lyon: Contre les hérésies, livre I*, Source Chrétienne 264 (Paris, 1979)).

²³ See Le Boulluec, *La notion*, 114–21, 127–8 on the Marcosians, and 215–53 on Irenaeus' biblical exegesis, formed in large part in reaction to 'heretical' interpretations.

²⁴ Iren., *haer.* 1.22.1: *hanc ergo tenentes regulam, licet ualde uaria et multa dicant, facile eos deuiasse a ueritate arguimus. Omnes enim fere quotquot sunt haereses Deum quidem unum dicunt, sed per sententiam malam immutant, ingrati existentes ei qui fecit eos, quemadmodum et gentes per idololatriam. Plasma autem Dei contemnunt, contradicentes suae salutis, ipsi sui accusatores amarissimi et falsi testes existentes. Qui quidem resurgent in carne, licet nolint, uti agnoscant uirtutem suscitantis eos a mortuis; cum iustis autem non adnumerabuntur propter incredulitatem suam* (Rousseau and Doutreleau, *Irénée*, 310). Cf. Iren., *haer.* 4.33.8, 5.20.1–2.

In Irenaeus' rhetoric, orthodoxy was characterised by oneness, that is, by the simplicity and singularity of the truth it proclaimed, whereas heresy was marked by plurality and a diversity of conflicting views.²⁵ About the Marcosians, he wrote: 'Moreover, since they disagree with one another, both in doctrine and in tradition, and those who are recognised to be more recent among them strive each day to devise something new and to fructify what no one has contrived before, it is a difficult thing to describe all their opinions'.²⁶ Because one of the main problems with the Marcosians was the novelty of their doctrines, Irenaeus focused much of his exposition on the exposure and refutation of those ideas, set in opposition to the unity of an apostolic belief handed down from the earliest followers of Christ.

Just a short generation or so after Irenaeus (but nevertheless in a different time and place), Hippolytus, or at least the author of the *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, developed further two more important rhetorical themes in his heresiology: that orthodox Christianity was incompatible with the traditions of pagan religion and philosophy, and that heresy was a poor imitation of paganism and thus doubly removed from the truth faith.²⁷ Hippolytus broadly attacked his theological opponents by attempting to create a heresiological taxonomy that linked pagan philosophy, Christian heresy and 'Gnosticism'.²⁸ In his refutation of the Marcosians, Hippolytus commenced in a way similar to Irenaeus, with the identification and naming of the heresiarch and a description of the rituals of the Marcosians, and he continued the refutation with a lengthy exposition on their beliefs and practices.²⁹ Like Irenaeus, Hippolytus reiterated the heresiological theme of succession: 'Marcos, imitating his teacher [Valentinus], himself also

²⁵ Cf. Iren. *haer.* 1.preface 1–2. See Le Boulluec, *La notion*, 148–62 on Irenaeus' appeal to 'simplicity' in opposition to heretical obscurity, incomprehensibility, diversity and multiplicity.

²⁶ Iren, *haer.* 1.21.5: *Cum autem discrepent ab inuicem et doctrina et traditione, et qui recentiores eorum agnoscuntur adfectant per singulos dies nouum aliquid adinuenire et fructificare quod numquam quisquam excogitauit, durum est omnium describere sententias* (Rousseau and Dotreleau, *Irénée*, 308).

²⁷ On Hippolytus as the author of the *Refutatio*, I follow M. Marcovich, ed., *Hippolytus, Refutatio omnium haeresium*, Patristische Texte und Studien 25 (Berlin, 1986), 8–17, but his authorship is disputed. See Pourkier, *L'hérésiologie*, 63–70; A. Brent, *Hippolytus and the Roman Church in the Third Century: Communities in Tension Before the Emergence of a Monarch-Bishop* (Leiden, 1995). As to the charge that Gnostic heresy plagiarised from pagan traditions, Marcovich, *Hippolytus*, 32–8 argues that Hippolytus ultimately failed in this endeavour.

²⁸ Ibid., 38–41. On the complex relationship Christian heresiologists had with Hellenism, see R. Lyman, 'The Politics of Passing: Justin Martyr's Conversion as a Problem of "Hellenization"', in K. Mills and A. Grafton, eds, *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing* (Rochester, 2003), 36–60. Lyman suggests that it was Irenaeus who started the confrontation between Christianity and Hellenism.

²⁹ Hipp., *haer.* 6.39.1–55.3.

invents a spectacle, believing thus that he might be magnified'.³⁰ He, however, also intensified his anti-Marcosian rhetoric by emphasising that the heresiarch drew his ideas specifically from astrology and Pythagorean philosophy: 'So I hope that these things are clear to those who possess a sound mind, that they [Marcosian ideas] are without authority and far from <reflective> of the knowledge according to right religion. They are part of astrological invention and the arithmetic art of Pythagoras'.³¹ The link between Christian heresy and pagan religion and philosophy was certainly characteristic of the earliest heresiological rhetoric, but for Hippolytus it was the driving force of his composition.³² He tried to construct the argument that there was nothing new to be found among the beliefs of the heretics, for they had derived (or stolen) every single one of their ideas from the pagans of bygone eras.³³ His heresiology thus exhibited innovation in comparison to that of Irenaeus, in that it began first by systematically outlining the different beliefs professed by various philosophical schools and pagan religious traditions and then identifying what heretical doctrines they later inspired and influenced.³⁴ And so from one heresiology to the next, a thematic continuity was evident in the notion of a succession of error, but there was also an intensification of the rhetoric of attack by linking directly heresy with Hellenism.

Innovative Taxonomy in the *Panarion*

Epiphanius maintained throughout the *Panarion* the Irenaeian dichotomy of truth and error and the Hippolytan emphasis on the link between paganism with heresy; and in the case of Irenaeus, he quoted from the *Adversus haereses* to support his

³⁰ Hipp., *haer.* 6.42.2: 'Ο δὲ Μάρκος μιμούμενος τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναπλάσσει ὄραμα, νομίζων οὕτως δοξασθῆσθαι. I have used the critical edition in Marcovich, *Hippolytus*, 259.

³¹ Hipp., *haer.* 6.52.1: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πρόδηλα εἶναι πᾶσιν ἐλπίζω τοῖς ὑγιαίνοντα νοῦν κεκτημένοις ὄντα ἄκυρα καὶ μακρὰν τῆς κατὰ θεοσεβείαν γνώσεως (ἀπεμφαίνοντα), ὄντα μέρη ἀστρολογικῆς ἐφευρέσεως καὶ ἀριθμητικῆς Πυθαγορείου ... (Marcovich, *Hippolytus*, 272). Cf. Iren., *haer.* 1.1.1. See Inglebert, *Interpretatio Christiana*, 433–6.

³² See Henderson, *The Construction*, 137–9.

³³ See Vallée, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics*, 41–62. Cf. Iren., *haer.* 2.14.1–9.

³⁴ Consider, however, Marcovich, *Hippolytus*, 35–6: 'Now Platonism, Pythagoreanism, Graeco-Roman mysteries etc. may well be taken into consideration as possible source of inspiration form some Gnostic schools of thought. But the point is that Hippolytus in the *Elenchos* was not successful in pinpointing such influences upon a concrete Gnostic sect, to the extent that the entire enterprise of a *Parathesis* and the exposition of the Gnostics of the *Elenchos* as mere plagiarists of Greek philosophers proves to be a gross failure.' Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that Hippolytus still tried to construct the idea of Gnostic plagiarism of Greek culture in his heresiological system, even if he later (Book 10) abandoned this notion.

heresiological refutation. In his entry against the Marcosians, Epiphanius included a long passage from Irenaeus, after which he affirmed his predecessor's reliability:

The blessed elder Irenaeus made this precise inquiry, exposing comprehensively in order all of their falsified teaching. Wherefore indeed, as has already been made clear by me, because I am satisfied with what has been studied by him, I have provided everything, word for word, as has been recounted in his work. They will be refuted by the very things that have been said by the holy man against their wickedness.³⁵

By citing Irenaeus as an authoritative source within the context of his own heresiological work, Epiphanius rhetorically situated himself in the succession of orthodox heresiologists; but by adding his own ideas to the refutation of the same subject, he took an evolutionary step in the development of the genre of heresiology. He sharpened and further radicalised his heresiological polemic by introducing an entirely novel taxonomy of heresy, an organising scheme (with implied action) heretofore not attempted by his predecessors.³⁶

Drawing on an encyclopedic tradition that systematised knowledge of the natural world, Epiphanius equated heresiarchs and heresies with specific harmful and deadly animals to serve specific rhetorical functions.³⁷ He compared the heresiarch Marcos with a breed of viper known as the *dipsas* (διψάς), which was

³⁵ Epiph., *Pan.* 34.21.1–2: Ταύτην τὴν πᾶσαν ἀκριβῆ ἔρευναν ὁ μακάριος πρεσβύτερος Εἰρηναῖος ἐποίησατο, καθ' εἰρμὸν πάντα ἐκθέμενος τῆς αὐτῶν πάσης παραπεποιημένης διδασκαλίας, διόπερ δή, ὡς καὶ ἤδη μοι προδεδήλωται, [δτι] τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσπουδασμένοις ἀρκεσθέντες πάντα πρὸς ἔπος, ὡς παρ' αὐτῷ ἐμφέρεται, παρεθήκαμεν. ἀνατραπήσονται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀνδρὸς εἰς ἀντίθεσιν τῆς αὐτῶν μοχθηρίας εἰρημένων. All Greek quotations for the *Panarion* are from K. Holl, *Epiphanius (Ancoratus und Panarion)*, GCS 25, 31, 37 (Leipzig, 1915, 1922, 1933), with revised editing by J. Dummer, volumes 2 and 3 (Berlin and New York, 1980, 1985) and M. Bergermann and C.-F. Collatz, volume 1 (Berlin, 2013).

³⁶ On the taxonomy of heresiology and the ordering of knowledge, see Flower, 'Genealogies of unbelief', 78–81.

³⁷ And this was in addition to Epiphanius' more familiar equation of heresies to the eighty concubines of Song of Songs 6:8. He most likely used a handbook or epitome of other ancient naturalist writers. See J. Dummer, 'Ein naturwissenschaftliches Handbuch als Quelle für Epiphanius von Constantia', *Klio* 55 (1978), 289–99 on Epiphanius' sources. For lists of all of the different types of animals and some preliminary analysis, see J. Verheyden, 'Epiphanius of Salamis on Beasts and Heretics. Some Introductory Comments', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 60.1–4 (2008), 143–73. See also I. Gilhus, 'Bischof Epiphanius von Salamis und der »Medizinschrank gegen Ketzer« in T. Hägg, ed., *Kirche und Ketzer: Wege und Abwege des Christentums* (Cologne, 2010), 41–55. On the physiognomic comparison between humans and animals, see T. Barton, *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics, and Medicine under the Roman Empire*, *The Body, in Theory* (Ann Arbor, 1994), 122–8.

known to drink from pools of water formed in rock depressions.³⁸ The serpent then would secrete its poison into these pools; and when an animal approached and drank, it would die. Epiphanius also wrote that when a *dipsas* struck a victim, he would feel a burning sensation and severe thirst and would drink and drink until vomiting, at which point the body expelled not only the consumed liquid but also the very life of the stricken.³⁹ Epiphanius cleverly paralleled the unique practices of a heretical sect known for its use of potions and liquids with the fearful effects of the poison of a terrifying breed of snake, and he concluded his refutation by saying that Marcos ‘causes the death of his dupes with a drink’.⁴⁰

The *Panarion*, as ‘medicine chest’, was purportedly full of preventatives, antidotes and cures against the bites and stings of noxious creatures, and these metaphorical medicines were the correct exegetical interpretations of the Scriptures and resulting doctrines presented by Epiphanius to his readers.⁴¹ But at the same time that his heresiology was to be a healing, restorative tool, it also contained within a more dire purpose. By and large, the creatures Epiphanius equated with heretics were to be found in the wilderness and away from the urban context of daily life. While the natural world could provide much that was good and beneficial for humanity, there also existed severe and often hidden dangers and threats. Thus the wilderness, a place associated with the unbridled freedom and potential savagery of nature, was in many ways a place to be feared and avoided. Furthermore, it was the locus in which ascetic exemplars like Antony waged spiritual and physical warfare against demons, which often appeared in the guise of wild animals.⁴² And just as poisonous creatures lay in waiting and threatened human well-being, heretics also set their traps and endangered the believer’s theological health. Orthodoxy was preserved only in the safe and orderly confines of the one, true church and its caretakers; and once a believer moved beyond the security of the church, he then became the potential prey of wild and dangerous heretics. However, the animals of the wilderness at times could penetrate the city and the ordered structures of human life, and they had to be removed or eliminated. Likewise, heretics had infiltrated the holy church, and it was up to its guardians to identify and expel them from the community.

³⁸ Epiph., *Pan.* 34.22.3. The *dipsas* was well known in antiquity and had a literary tradition of its own; cf. Nicander, *Theriaca* 335–42; Philumenus, *de Venenatis Animalibus* 20.1–3; Lucan, *Bellum Civile* 9.718, 737–60; Lucian, *Dipsades*. On this tradition, see Dummer, ‘Ein naturwissenschaftliches Handbuch’, 297.

³⁹ Epiph., *Pan.* 34.22.3–5.

⁴⁰ Epiph., *Pan.* 34.22.6: ... ἀπὸ πόματος τὸν θάνατον τοῖς παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἡπατημένοις ἐξεργάζεται.

⁴¹ See Pourkier, *L’hérésiologie*, 77–84. See also Wendy Mayer’s contribution to this volume, Chapter 1, which explores late antique Christian beliefs about medicine and health. The medical and naturalist traditions in antiquity were closely related, if not at times indistinguishable.

⁴² See I. Gilhus, *Animals, Gods and Humans: Changing Attitudes to Animals in Greek, Roman and Early Christian Ideas* (London and New York, 2006), 220–4.

The theme of heretics as serpents was certainly utilised by the earliest heresiologists, but Epiphanius was the first to systematise this association.⁴³ And the effect of this comparison was not only to caricature or mock the heretics, but also to exploit that real fear of venomous and harmful creatures.⁴⁴ The snakes, insects and other creatures in the *Panarion* would have been familiar to many of Epiphanius' readers, and the rhythms of life in the ancient Mediterranean world, both within and beyond the city, could be disrupted by the lurking presence of animals, and thereby heretics, that bit and caused harm.⁴⁵ And so Epiphanius provided for his readers the essential knowledge needed to identify heretical beasts, avoid such dangerous creatures, and to treat those who had been afflicted. However, fear, reactive caution and avoidance constituted only part of the intended responses to any encounter with these noxious heretical beasts. Indeed, Epiphanius constantly underscored another thematic idea in his heresiology: violence.

The Discursive (but Potentially Real) Violence in the *Panarion*

Late Antiquity was certainly no stranger to violence, and the ascendancy of Christianity had little ameliorating effect on its ubiquity.⁴⁶ Christians were quite adept at meting out violence upon each other; and while the theological controversies and conflicts of the fourth century were predominantly expressed in literary form and voiced at conciliar meetings, there were moments when these disputes spilled into the realm of the physical.⁴⁷ Heresiology was at its heart characterised by polemic and an imagined violence, because it tried in

⁴³ Pourkier, *L'hérésiologie*, 79–81. On polemical representations of the 'other' in Christian anti-pagan (and anti-heretical) literature, see M. Kahlos 'The Shadow of the Shadow: Examining Fourth and Fifth-Century Christian Depictions of Pagans', in M. Kahlos, ed., *The Faces of the Other: Religious Rivalry and Ethnic Encounters in the Later Roman World* (Turnhout, 2011), 165–95.

⁴⁴ Verheyden, 'Epiphanius of Salamis', 172–3 emphasises this mocking aspect.

⁴⁵ On ancient attitudes toward animals and the natural world, see Gilhus, *Animals, Gods and Humans*, especially 238–42 on Epiphanius' use of animal imagery.

⁴⁶ See the manifold expressions and acts of late antique violence in the collection of essays in H. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (Burlington, VT, 2006).

⁴⁷ See M. Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire*, Transformation of the Classical Heritage 39 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2005); T. Sizgorich, *Violence and Belief in Late Antiquity: Militant Devotion to Christianity and Islam* (Philadelphia, 2009). However, there is also a theoretical shift in scholarly thinking about the relationship between religious conflict and manifestations of violence, and with regard to late ancient Christianity, a reassessment of the traditional paradigm that posits a difference in how Christians related to each other and to other belief systems in the pre- and post-Constantinian eras. See W. Mayer, 'Religious Conflict: Definitions, Problems and Theoretical Approaches' in W. Mayer and B. Neil, eds, *Religious*

no uncertain terms to identify, demarcate and condemn insider from outsider, friend from enemy. Epiphanius' novel naturalist taxonomy of heresy reflected another step in the Christian reimagining and redefining of society and culture, and it served to dehumanise the object of his polemical attack.⁴⁸ By distorting the difference between heretics and noxious creatures, Epiphanius implied a logical reaction to their existence and appearance. While he certainly wanted his readers to be scared and disgusted, Epiphanius also sought to make them proactive, to take the initiative and action against heretics.

Perhaps Epiphanius was inspired by the words of Jesus, 'See, I have given you authority to tread on snakes and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing will hurt you' (Luke 10:19, NRSV), because at the conclusion of almost every entry in the *Panarion*, beginning with that dedicated to the ur-heresiarch Simon Magus, he articulated the success of his heresiological efforts by referencing some sort of violent action against the harmful beast/heretic.⁴⁹ About Simon, Epiphanius claimed that he 'has struck this man with the words of the truth', and this after a comparison of his followers with aborted snake fetuses; and with respect to the heresiarch Basilides, he 'has crushed this man with the teaching of the truth'.⁵⁰ Against Hieracas the 'winged scorpion', he wrote how he 'tore to pieces his wings and broke his head with the club of life'.⁵¹ Epiphanius often connected these violent actions with a particular offensive weapon or implement, like a club or a sandal, which was frequently endowed with the power of the truth, the Gospel, or some other biblical or spiritual modifier. For example, Epiphanius used the 'wood of life' against the Gnostic 'viper with no birth pangs', a 'cudgel of the faith and the truth' against Carpocrates, and the 'sandal of the Gospel' against Secundus.⁵² In other instances, Epiphanius was content simply to use the truth, power, Word of God and the Holy Trinity as his weapons to refute and crush these heretical creatures. Most often in his references to beating or killing various heretical creatures, Epiphanius assaulted their heads, and this image surely mirrored the scene of God's judgment against the serpent in Genesis 3:15.

Epiphanius never encouraged his readers outright to attack physically any of the heretics he refuted, and most of the descriptions of violence he incorporated into his heresiology were about heresiarchs and heretics who were long since dead

Conflict from Early Christianity to Early Islam, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 121 (Berlin, 2013), 1–19.

⁴⁸ Epiphanius' polemic must be understood as more than Verheyden, 'Epiphanius of Salamis', 172: 'Likening the heretic to a creepy beast is the ultimate insult'.

⁴⁹ He invoked this verse in his attack against the 'asp' that was Marcion; cf. Epiph., *Pan.* 42.16.14.

⁵⁰ Epiph., *Pan.* 21.7.3: τοῦτον παΐσαντες διὰ τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγων, 24.10.8: τοῦτον συντρίψαντες τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας διδασκαλίᾳ.

⁵¹ Epiph., *Pan.* 67.8.4: τὰς πτέρυγας κατασπάσαντες καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταθλάσαντες τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς ζωῆς.

⁵² Epiph., *Pan.* 26.19.6, 27.8.4, 32.7.9.

or had ceased to exist. His violence was largely imagined, and in this way the *Panarion* represented continuity with the heresiologies of the past, as all works of this genre contained within them some form of discursive violence directed against a rhetorically constructed enemy. Nevertheless, through his clever rhetoric, manifest in his novel heresiological taxonomy, which itself had the effect of blurring the different between man and beast, Epiphanius made the reality and threat of heresy more 'natural', more 'real' for his readers. The picture of the heretic as snake, scorpion and a host of other harmful creatures would have elicited visceral reactions of fear and disgust, encouraged identification and evasion, and, it also implied, if necessary, a violent reaction and response. And thus the *Panarion*, which certainly built on the themes of its predecessors, reflected a significant step forward in the rhetorical sophistication of the genre established over two centuries prior. Epiphanius had 'armed' his readers with essential knowledge, frequently embodied in the form of an imagined weapon, and thereby empowered the orthodox to take the initiative, to go on the dialectical offensive, to crush, smash, bash, split open, maim and trample heresy and heretics, perhaps with real clubs, cudgels and fists, if necessary.⁵³

Conclusion

Heresiology as a literary genre was certainly a shifting frontier, as its representative authors modified and developed their works to suit their contexts and rhetorical needs, but it was also remarkably stable. Authors in the tradition identified themselves as belonging to a succession, and they conscientiously borrowed from and built on the efforts of their predecessors, both in theme and content. At the heart of their mission was the identification, demonisation and condemnation of the 'heretic', a rhetorically constructed 'other' whose beliefs and practices were presented as antithetical to a singular, unified orthodoxy. The earliest heresiologists wrote in a time when Christian identity was very much in flux, and their resulting works reflected ongoing conversations and disputes about the relationship (or lack thereof) between their faith and the traditions of Judaism and Hellenism. Epiphanius was one link in the long chain of heresiologists, who continued the tradition well into the Byzantine world, but his *Panarion* was also qualitatively different from the heresiologies that came before. Through a new kind of imagined ordering of heresies, Epiphanius introduced into the broader discourse of orthodoxy and heresy the potential for a different kind of action. By blurring the difference between heretic and creature, human and beast, Epiphanius rhetorically suggested that the discursive, verbal violence of heresiology might become something more, and indeed, it did.

⁵³ See the list of actions outlined in Verheyden, 'Epiphanius of Salamis', 164.

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PART II

Ecclesiastical Genres

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Chapter 5

Adapter le genre du bréviaire plutôt qu'écrire une histoire ecclésiastique? Enquête sur le choix historiographique de Liberatus de Carthage

Philippe Blaudeau

Souvent citée, mais peu étudiée pour elle-même, l'œuvre de Liberatus, diacre de l'Église de Carthage, le *Breviarium causae nestorianorum et eutychianorum* consiste en un opuscule traitant en 24 chapitres des controverses christologiques en Orient, depuis la prédication de Nestorius jusqu'à la promulgation du 1^{er} édit de Justinien contre les Trois Chapitres (428–544). Sans doute composé peu avant 566, le *breviarium* forme un condensé original d'informations ecclésiastiques de grande importance. De l'auteur, nous savons indépendamment qu'il vint à Rome en 535, en tant que membre de la légation qu'envoyèrent l'archevêque Reparatus et son synode pour s'assurer de la reconnaissance, par le pape, des décisions organisationnelles prises par l'assemblée après la reconquête africaine de Bélisaire.¹ Son récit permet d'ajouter qu'il se trouvait dans la ville pontificale un an plus tôt² et qu'il se rendit aussi à Alexandrie, une première fois pour y porter des lettres de communion à Paul le Tabennésiotte peut-être, et de façon certaine à un autre moment, au milieu du VI^e siècle.³

Sans doute peut-on discerner dans son opuscule une triple intention, nettement structurée et sûrement inspirée par le ministère diaconal (faire mémoire de

¹ Comme l'atteste la lettre conciliaire des évêques rassemblés à Carthage et destinée au pape Jean (in O. Günther, éd., *Collectio Avellana* 85 (Vienne, 1895) CSEL 35, 329₁₅₋₁₆) et la réponse de son successeur Agapet, ep 4, *Collectio Avellana* 86, 331₁. Sur cette collection, voir aussi D.I. Vezure, 'Collectio Avellana and the Unspoken Ostrogoths', chapitre 7 dans ce volume.

² Envoyé par son évêque Boniface sûrement, *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, ACO II-5, 19, 134₂₇. Voir aussi note 40.

³ Liberatus, 12, 119₇₋₈ ; comme il l'affirme lui-même (*nam nos ista nuper Alexandriae de Graeco in Latinum translata suscepimus*), il a accès à la traduction latine des actes de Chalcédoine sous la forme dite *versio antiqua correctae* identifiée par Schwartz (ACO II, 3, 1, VII–VIII). Cf. M. Wallraff, 'Das Konzil von Chalkedon in der Darstellung des Liberatus von Karthago (*Breviarium* 11–14)', *ZAC* 14 (2010), 64–5. Or, celle-ci est sans doute établie peu après 550, ce qui vaut comme terminus post quem pour l'un de ses séjours à Alexandrie.

l'identité ecclésiale carthaginoise, interpréter les relations entre grands sièges et résolument promouvoir une certaine unité ecclésiale).⁴ Il est plus difficile de dire quel genre de récit Liberatus voulait assigner à son récit en le composant. Notons d'emblée qu'il ne paraît pas tenir toujours le caractère concis de son propos pour une exigence première. Mieux, il semble à l'occasion se conformer volontiers au modèle des histoires ecclésiastiques jusqu'à citer in extenso des documents majeurs (tel l'*Hénotique* de l'empereur Zénon, 482).⁵ Pourtant il apparaît que le diacre se refusa à revendiquer explicitement le modèle eusébien, ce qui ne l'empêche pas de signifier un rapport spécifique aux passages de Socrate le Scolastique ou de Théodoret de Cyr tirés de la *Tripartita*.⁶ Quelle est donc la nature de son projet historiographique, cherche-t-il à l'inscrire dans une tradition littéraire identifiée, non sans en déplacer le contenu et en modifier la forme, afin d'aboutir à un type historiographique nouveau ? Ou bien ne s'agit-il que d'une sorte d'aide-mémoire ? C'est à cette question, dont déjà V. Drecoll et M. Meier ont dit la difficulté,⁷ que nous chercherons à répondre.

I. Une indication ténue?

Sommes-nous tout d'abord sûrs que Liberatus désignait sa relation par le vocable de *breviarium* ? On relève dans l'édition de Schwartz quatre occurrences seulement du terme dans la mention introduisant au sommaire,⁸ l'incipit,⁹ un passage du premier chapitre et l'explicit.¹⁰ Récemment H.-Ch. Brennecke a mis en doute le fait que le titre vînt de l'auteur, en indiquant que la désignation de l'ouvrage ne correspond

⁴ C'est l'objet de notre article 'Liberatus de Carthage ou l'historiographie comme service diaconal', *Augustinianum* 50 (2010) 543–65.

⁵ Liberatus 17, 127₁₈–129₂. Deux autres pièces sont produites, la confession de foi de Flavian qui a été exigée de lui par l'empereur Théodose II (ibid., 11, 116₁₇–117₃; cf. *ACO* II-1-1, 35–6 (printemps 449) et un courrier imputé à Vigile (Liberatus 22, 137₂₇–138₁₈). Sur ce faux, également connu de Victor de Tonnona, voir notre article 'Différentes évaluations d'une crise : considérations de l'empereur Justinien et du pape Vigile sur la situation ecclésiale à la veille de la controverse des Trois Chapitres (540)', *Adamantius* 19 (2013), 314–316.

⁶ En tant qu'historiens, ils sont nommément cités dans les occurrences suivantes : Liberatus, 2, 99_{21, 33}, 4, 101₁₂, 6, 105₂₉ (Socrate) ; 3, 100₉ (Théodoret). Notons au passage qu'après s'être référé à Socrate, Liberatus signale une *alia lectio* (une autre source ?, 99₃₄ correspondant aux passages 99₃₅–100₆ et 100_{8–14}) que nous ne savons identifier : cf. V.H. Drecoll, 'Kommentierende Analyse zur Liberatus, *Breviarium* 1–7', *ZAC* 14 (2010), 18.

⁷ En énumérant de façon saisissante les différentes qualifications pouvant correspondre à l'ouvrage : *Kirchengeschichte? Häresiegeschichte? Kirchenpolitischer bzw. kirchenhistorischer Traktat? Flug oder Kampfschrift?*, 'Einleitung', *ZAC* 14 (2010), 8.

⁸ Liberatus, 98₅.

⁹ Ibid., 98₃₀.

¹⁰ Ibid., 141₁₂.

guère à son contenu des chapitres 15–18.¹¹ L'intitulé consisterait donc en une sorte d'extrapolation. Toutefois, cet argument n'est pas décisif : conformément à l'enseignement romain, nous le verrons, l'insistance sur les archétypes hérésiologiques mise en évidence, explique assez largement l'incrimination auctoriale de Nestorius et d'Eutychès dans les événements subséquents et pourrait bien être originelle, d'autant qu'elle trouve un ferme point d'appui en préface.¹² En revanche, V. Drecoll considère à juste titre, nous semble-t-il, que le sommaire, introduit sans plus de précaution par la formule *in hoc breviario sunt*,¹³ serait à rapporter à un copiste plutôt qu'à Liberatus,¹⁴ notamment parce que le contenu du premier chapitre y est résumé par le terme de *proemium*¹⁵ tandis que le diacre le désigne par le mot de *praefatio*.¹⁶ Restent donc trois mentions, assez fermement assurées par la tradition textuelle relevant de la *Collectio Sangermanensis* pour être considérées comme initiales.¹⁷ En effet, les occurrences de l'incipit et de l'explicit sont confirmées par l'énoncé introductif qui désigne nettement l'objet élaboré (*hoc breviarium collegi*). Il y a donc lieu d'évacuer toute forme d'incertitude. Même si l'emploi dans le texte est rare,¹⁸ la place et le rôle dévolus au mot de *breviarium* montrent que l'auteur lui-même en fait la qualification la plus adéquate à ses yeux de son récit. Mais que veut-il dire par cet emploi ?

II. Un sens historiographique conservé

Il est d'usage de souligner que le terme latin de *breviarium* est sans précédent ni même équivalent direct en grec : apparaissant chez Sénèque,¹⁹ il est usité par Suétone dans ses *Vie des douze Césars* pour désigner un des trois *volumina* testamentaires d'Auguste ayant pour fonction d'établir « combien il y avait

¹¹ 'Das akakianische Schisma : Liberatus, *Breviarium* 15–18', *ZAC* 14 (2010), 75.

¹² ... *duarum heresum, hoc est Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum ... hoc breviarium collegi*, *Breviarium*, 98₃₃–99₂.

¹³ Ibid., 98₅.

¹⁴ Drecoll, 'Kommentierende Analyse', 13.

¹⁵ *Breviarium*, 98₆.

¹⁶ Ibid., 3, 101₇.

¹⁷ L'explicit manque dans deux des quatre manuscrits principaux, ceux qui toutefois ne font pas le plus autorité (I – Vaticanus Latinus 1340 et T- Parisinus Latinus 244). Sur le titre d'archidiacre qui n'est pas attesté à Carthage avant l'époque de composition, voir notre article 'Service diaconal', 551.

¹⁸ Dans l'état présent du texte. Rappelons qu'il n'est pas absolument impensable que le texte de Liberatus ait connu un remaniement alto-médiéval qui expliquerait certaines de ses imperfections (lacunes, obscurités et peut-être réduction). Cf. St. Patzold, 'Spurensuche : Beobachtungen zur Rezeption des Liberatus in der Karolingerzeit und im Hochmittelalter', *ZAC* 14 (2010), 237.

¹⁹ Cf. P. Dufraigne, 'Introduction', dans Aurelius Victor, *Livre des Césars*, *CUF* (Paris, 1975), XLI.

de soldats sous les drapeaux sur l'ensemble du territoire, combien il y avait d'argent dans le trésor, dans les caisses impériales, et ce qui restait des revenus publics ».²⁰ Dans les fragments conservés de son *De viris illustribus*, Suétone confère ce même vocable au récit de Lucius Ateius Praetextatus.²¹ Le sens se fixe alors et peut être défini comme suit : répondant à un besoin pratique de connaissance, le *breviarium* est un ouvrage censé faire référence, qui propose un récit ramassé d'une histoire en puisant à plusieurs sources tandis que l'auteur, s'il peut exprimer certaines appréciations, évite le ton personnel et s'interdit excursus et descriptions ornées.²² Ainsi le *breviarium* se distingue-t-il alors de l'épitomé qui procède normalement de l'abréviation drastique d'un seul et même ouvrage. Cette différence entre *breviarium* et épitomé est-elle toujours de mise au IV^e siècle, époque qui, sans doute, a prisé plus que d'autres la *brevitas* ?²³ Pour répondre par la négative, on a fait valoir que l'ouvrage d'Eutrope, ne comportait pas de traduction du mot-clef (*breviarium*) dans la version grecque de Pañanos, mieux, que la *Suda*, l'ouvrage encyclopédique médio-byzantin soulignait qu'Eutrope avait composé ἐπιτομικῶς « à la manière d'un épitomé ».²⁴ Désormais on insiste davantage sur le fait que l'intitulé (*breviarium ab urbe condita*) donné à la composition d'Eutrope n'est sans doute pas original et que sa composition, pour la période républicaine, abrège Tite-Live.²⁵ Bref, rien de décisif n'efface la cohérence, même relative de la définition de *breviarium* donnée ci-dessus.²⁶ Rappelons toutefois que celle-ci correspond à des modèles traitant d'histoire profane, plus précisément même politique, le plus souvent destiné à, sinon toujours sollicité par, l'empereur, le roi (pensons à Cassiodore) mais parfois demandés par des personnages influents sans doute et qui nous échappent cependant (tels les Castalius et Vigilius évoqués par Jordanès).²⁷

²⁰ *Auguste*, 101 (trad. H. Ailloud).

²¹ *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, 10.

²² Th. M. Banchich, 'The Epitomizing Tradition in Late Antiquity', dans J. Marincola, éd., *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* (Oxford, 2007), 305.

²³ Cf. Joseph Hellegouac'h, dans Eutrope, *Abrégé d'histoire romaine*, CUF (Paris, 1999), XVI.

²⁴ *Suidae Lexikon*. II, A. Adler, éd., (Leipzig, 1967²) ε 3775 = <http://www.stoa.org/sol/> : Εὐτρόπιος, Ἰταλός, σοφιστής, τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπιτομικῶς τῇ Ἰταλῶν φωνῇ ἔγραψε καὶ ἄλλα. Voir en ce sens W. Den Boer, *Some Minor Roman Historians* (Leyde, 1972), 177.

²⁵ Cf. M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet dans Festus, *Abrégé des hauts faits du peuple romain*, CUF (Paris, 1994), V–VI.

²⁶ Cf. L. Dufraigne, 'Introduction', XL–XLI.

²⁷ Cf. en dernier lieu G. Zecchini, 'Cassiodoro e le fonti dei Getica di Giordane', *Ricerche di storiografia latina tardoantica* (Rome, 2011), 193–209.

III. A la recherche d'un *breviarium*-modèle

Peut-on donc croire que Liberatus, en choisissant ce même terme,²⁸ ait souhaité suggérer une appartenance dérivée ? La première des remarques à formuler consiste à souligner qu'aucune référence du texte ne permet de l'affirmer absolument. Seule l'identité africaine partagée avec un Aurelius Victor, dont le récit s'apparente à un *breviarium*,²⁹ incite à s'interroger : fournit-elle matière à débusquer une correspondance ? Les deux récits ont en commun plusieurs procédés caractéristiques, le fait par exemple que l'un et l'autre signalent leur attachement au renom de Carthage, à la terre natale,³⁰ sans pour autant traiter de son histoire mais en la sublimant dans une appartenance générale ; en commun aussi la concentration chronologique sélective (impériale ici, celle des controverses christologiques là) en commun encore une forte thématisation (politique³¹/hérésiologique) et un lectorat professionnalisé au moins pour partie (fonctionnaires³²/clercs ou moines). Est-ce suffisant ? Sans doute pas : outre de fausses similitudes (la division en chapitres sûrement établie a posteriori dans les deux cas) la liste des différences l'emporte. Parmi celles-ci, signalons notamment la scansion biographique d'un côté, événementielle sans être annalistique pour l'autre.

Si le modèle du *breviarium*, latin, profane et peu autonome à l'égard de ses sources,³³ permet donc de discerner la définition à laquelle Liberatus, diacre qui n'ignore pas pour autant le grec,³⁴ continue de se référer, il n'engage pas le Carthaginois à procéder à une transposition du mode de narration, ordonnée par exemple en fonction des règnes impériaux. Il aurait pu y être d'autant plus induit que cette caractéristique était pourtant usitée par les auteurs des histoires

²⁸ Notons par ailleurs qu'il emploie l'expression *epitoma chronicorum* pour qualifier le contenu de la *Chronique* de Prosper d'Aquitaine qu'il attribue très curieusement à un certain Lucentius (Liberatus, 99₁₇). A Schwartz qui renonce à toute conjecture pour expliquer cette confusion (Ibid., XVII), Peeters (*AnBoll* 55 (1937), 375) répond qu'elle surprend spécialement dans une œuvre qui aurait été composée au Vivarium, où elle était bel et bien attribuée à Prosper. Cf. Cassiodore, *Institutiones* I.17.2. Voir aussi 'Kommentierende Analyse', 18.

²⁹ Sur le titre de l'ouvrage d'Aurelius Victor (communément désigné comme *Caesares* ou *Liber de Caesaribus*), cf. Dufraigne, 'Introduction', XLI.

³⁰ *Carthaginem, terrarum decus*, Aurelius Victor 40, 19. Sur le rapport de Liberatus à Carthage, voir notre article, 'Service diaconal', 547–53.

³¹ Cf. Dufraigne, 'Introduction', L–LII.

³² Ibid., XL.

³³ Sur ce point, cf. B. Bleckmann, 'Tendenziöse Historiographie bei Liberatus : von Proterius bis Athanasios II', *ZAC* 14 (2009), 194.

³⁴ Sur ce point, voir E. Schwartz, dans *ACO* II-5, XVIII, U. Heil, 'Liberatus von Karthago und die Drei Kapitel. Anmerkungen zum *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum* 8–10', *ZAC* 14 (2010), 45 et surtout B. Bleckmann, 'Tendenziöse Historiographie', 170, 174, 182, 194–5.

ecclésiastiques grecques.³⁵ Il faut donc croire que la conception de son ouvrage s'inspire d'autres travaux plus influents.

C'est alors qu'il faut, nous semble-t-il, convoquer d'autres sens du terme *breviarium* volontiers pratiqués dans le contexte ecclésiastique, spécialement au sein de l'Église d'Afrique. Or il est une signification dont l'importance frappe d'emblée lorsque l'on considère l'œuvre juridico-canonique de cette institution : le mot *breviarium* (ou *breviatio*) y prend une acception quasi-technique : il sert à récapituler et résumer les décisions doctrinales et disciplinaires des conciles surtout. Il en va ainsi du *Breviarium Hipponense*, renvoyant aux décisions du concile tenu le 8 octobre 393 mais qui fut établi à l'initiative des évêques de Byzacène dans le contexte du concile de Carthage (août 397) pour prendre la forme ample d'une profession de foi (celle de Nicée) et de deux séries de quatre et trente-neuf canons respectivement.³⁶ Plus significatif encore aux yeux de Liberatus, la *breviatio canonum* de son proche confrère dans le diaconat carthaginois, Ferrand. Constituée entre 523 et 547 (date probablement du décès de Ferrand) et peut-être même avant l'expédition bélisarienne,³⁷ elle forme une sylloge de 232 titres ou sommaires rangés selon un ordre systématique.³⁸ Sous chacune des rubriques sont signalés les canons idoines sans pour autant que leur texte soit fourni. Le travail de documentation accompli pour obtenir un tel résultat est considérable : il suppose en effet d'avoir consulté différents recueils, sans doute identifiables, comme l'a proposé Ch. Munier, à une collection traduite des décrets des Églises d'Orient (canons des conciles de Nicée, Sardique, Ancyre, Néocésarée, Gangres, Antioche, Laodicée, Constantinople) et à deux livres (ou deux parties d'un même livre) des canons des conciles d'Afrique (jusqu'au concile de Junci qui donne le *terminus post quem*).³⁹ En outre la *breviatio* s'articule logiquement avec les autres travaux réalisés par Ferrand après la reconquête, notamment en matière théologique (dans un sens prudemment favorable à la formule théopaschite mais hostile à la condamnation des Trois Chapitres)⁴⁰ et conforte le principe d'autorité imprescriptible reconnu à un enseignement conciliaire que la persécution arienne

³⁵ Sur cet usage, voir notamment notre étude *Alexandrie et Constantinople (451–491). De l'histoire à la géo-ecclésiologie*, BÉFAR 327 (Rome, 2006), 504, 529.

³⁶ *Concilia Africae a. 345–525*, CCSL 149 (Turnhout 1974), 23–27 (notice) et 30–53 (texte).

³⁷ C'est l'avis du regretté Y. Modéran, 'L'Afrique reconquise et les Trois Chapitres', dans C. Chazelle et C. Cubitt, éd., *The Crisis of the Oikoumene. The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth Century Mediterranean* (Turnhout, 2007), 63.

³⁸ *Concilia Africae a. 345–525*, 287–311.

³⁹ Cf. Ch. Munier, *Ibid.*, 284–6.

⁴⁰ Le premier courrier est suscité par le diacre romain Anatolius dans le contexte de la sollicitation justinienne en faveur de la formule théopaschite, vers 534 (*Ep.* 3, *PL* 67, 889–908) – c'est peut-être parce qu'il a été mêlé à cet échange que Liberatus se trouve à Rome en 534 : voir Liberatus 19, 134₂₈ (*nobis ibi positis*) et F. Carcione, *Breve storia della controversia nestoriana ed eutichiana* (Anagni 1989), 15–16, note 17 ; le second courrier est demandé par le même clerc romain ainsi que par Pélage après la publication de l'édit du

des Vandales n'a fait que renforcer. La *breviatio* constitue donc le document de référence qui garantit le legs juridico-canonique en fonction duquel l'Église d'Afrique affirme son identité au moment où elle peut envisager de s'ouvrir à nouveau à une participation soutenue à la catholicité.

Pour une part, le projet de Liberatus répond à ce même souci de repérer dans l'héritage de l'histoire ce qui accrédite la vérité du positionnement présent. Sans doute Liberatus espère-t-il que le statut de son ouvrage s'apparente dans son domaine à celui des *breviaria* canoniques. Toutefois, au-delà même de la différence disciplinaire des entreprises, le *breviarium* présente une caractéristique évidente qui le distingue de la *breviatio*. Il emprunte très largement sa matière à des sources et des espaces extérieurs à l'Afrique et ne peut pas être tenu pour un ouvrage susceptible de contribuer à caractériser l'historiographie issue de cette terre et intéressée à son passé. Ainsi, récemment, G. Zecchini n'a-t-il pas même considéré Liberatus dans une contribution consacrée aux historiens africains.⁴¹ Cette mise à l'écart s'avère suggestive : si Liberatus a choisi de donner et le titre et la configuration ramassée et restreinte à son récit, c'est effectivement parce qu'il a puisé son modèle historiographique hors d'Afrique de la même manière qu'il l'a défini, on l'a vu, hors de tout rapport précis et contraignant avec les récits profanes.

Aussi pour comprendre son choix, faut-il en revenir à deux affirmations soulignées dès sa préface : la première tient à l'idée de fatigue et de peine. Dans une contribution précédente déjà signalée, nous avons eu l'occasion de signaler combien cette proposition pouvait contribuer à donner quelque crédit à l'hypothèse d'une expérience exilique vécue aux côtés de Reparatus, l'archevêque de Carthage puni par Justinien.⁴² La formule employée par Liberatus, « peregrinationis necessitatibus defatigatus »,⁴³ si elle n'est pas sans suggérer quelque rapport, qui n'est pas d'emprunt, avec telle phrase des *Institutiones* de Cassiodore,⁴⁴ évoque surtout un nouvel espace analogique. Elle inscrit en effet le sens du récit dans l'ordre du pèlerinage, tout en lui associant immédiatement la catégorie de contrainte imposée. Par cette affirmation, le *breviarium* entretient une relation symbolique, avec le genre, entièrement chrétien, qui se développe alors, celui des *peregrinationes* et des *itineraria ad loca sancta*. Mieux, au sein de cet

même empereur contre les Trois Chapitres (v. 544) : *Ep.* 6, 921–8 ; Voir encore 'Ferrandus', *PCBE*. I. *Afrique*, 447–50 et Y. Modéran, 'Afrique reconquise', 46.

⁴¹ 'La storiografia africana tardoantica', *Ricerche di storiografia*, 213–27.

⁴² Rappelons que cette suggestion, qui remonte à J. Garnier (1675 = *PL* 68, 965) à laquelle nous accordons une certaine vraisemblance ('Service diaconal', 544–546), est loin de faire l'unanimité. M. Meier, 'Das *Breviarium* des Liberatus von Karthago. Einige Hypothesen zu seiner Intention', *ZAC* 14 (2010), 140 doute même que Liberatus ait accompagné Reparatus lorsque celui-ci fut convoqué par Justinien à Constantinople (fin 550).

⁴³ Liberatus, 98₃₂.

⁴⁴ *Longa peregrinatione fatigatus* (*Inst.* I, 26, 1). Mais l'on sait que la forme des *Institutiones* que nous connaissons date du début des années 580. Cf. notamment Mark Wessey dans *Institutions of Divine and Secular Learnings. On the Soul*, TTH 42 (Liverpool 2007²), 41.

ensemble qui doit son origine à la *Toponomastique des Saintes Écritures* d'Eusèbe de Césarée traduite par Jérôme, se distingue un ouvrage, traditionnellement dénommé *Breviarius (Breviarium) de Hierosolyma*⁴⁵ qui, en un latin assez brut, décrit succinctement les églises de Jérusalem. Il importe ici de noter qu'il débute ainsi « Incipit breviarius quomodo Hierosolyma constructa est »⁴⁶ et qu'il campe une situation qui précède de peu les transformations justiniennes de la ville. Se plaçant quelque temps avant la rédaction de Liberatus, il éclaire par comparaison l'une des fonctions fondamentales du récit de l'Africain : permettre à ses lecteurs de cheminer sans se perdre dans les méandres d'une controverse complexe, décrite dans ses composantes et ses enjeux essentiels.

Ainsi il y a donc bien un contexte littéraire et un modèle de pensée latino-chrétiens dans lesquels se manifeste une certaine prédilection pour le condensé d'information, trouvant dans les matières canoniques ou géographique des lieux propices de composition. Mais il faut davantage à Liberatus que cette seule stimulation oblique pour élaborer son *breviarium* historico-ecclésiologique. L'impulsion décisive à notre sens provient de l'une de ses sources historiographiques centrales : non pas tant de la *Tripartita* qu'il qualifie assez rigoureusement d'*ecclesiastica historia*,⁴⁷ ni même du texte qu'il désigne par la formule « (nectens temporum illa) quae Graeco Alexandriae scripto accepi » et dont B. Bleckmann a magistralement montré qu'il répondait, en exaltant le point de vue diphysite alexandrin, à l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Zacharie le Rhéteur.⁴⁸ Car ce récit longuement compulsé par le Carthaginois, par le fait même qu'il entendait réfuter une relation particulièrement efficace et remarquablement informée devait s'apparenter à son genre et produire nombre de pièces justificatives. Il a donc pu profondément influencer le contenu du *breviarium* – notamment par son incitation permanente à insérer tel document⁴⁹ – mais non en déterminer la forme. Dès lors, le seul récit suivi dont fasse usage Liberatus et qui puisse être identifié à un *breviarium* par ses caractéristiques n'est autre qu'un opuscule consulté et sans doute copié à Rome.⁵⁰ Habituellement désigné par le titre qu'il porte dans la *Collectio Berolinensis* (n°32), *Gesta de nomine Acacii* (incipit *in causa fidei christiana*),⁵¹ il a été exploité littéralement par le diacre carthaginois, au cours de ses chapitres 15, 16 et 18 d'après une forme correspondant au texte conservé dans

⁴⁵ *Itineraria et alia geographica*, CCSL 175 (Turnhout, 1975), 109–112. Sur ce petit ouvrage, voir aussi L. Dattino, 'Breviarium de Hierosolyma', *NDPAC*, 818.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 109₁₋₂.

⁴⁷ Liberatus, 99₁.

⁴⁸ Bleckmann, 'Tendenziöse Historiographie', 193–5.

⁴⁹ Selon Bleckmann, *ibid.*, 168 c'est de lui que Liberatus, le seul latin à le produire, tire le texte l'*Hénotique*.

⁵⁰ Schwartz, *ACO* II-5, XVIII ; St. Patzold, 'Spurensuche', 233, note 3.

⁵¹ Cf. *Collectio Avellana*, 99, 440–53 et *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma*, *ABAW, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung neue Folge* 10, E. Schwartz, éd. (Munich, 1934), 81 (n°32).

un abrégé dénommé *Narrationis ordo de pravitate Dioscori Alexandrini*.⁵² Tout porte à croire que ce bref récit, initialement destiné à un laïc, que Sirmond désignait par le titre de *Breviculus historiae eutychianistarum*,⁵³ a fourni le modèle et très probablement le canevas de l'ouvrage de Liberatus. Sûrement la version à laquelle il eut accès débutait-elle, comme c'est encore le cas dans l'exemplaire complet (achevé en 492–493), avec la mention de Nestorius, et de la filiation hérétique dans laquelle il se situait (avec pour prédécesseurs Paul de Samosate et Photin).⁵⁴ Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est sur cette base d'un des rares exemples d'historiographie pontificale romaine, base tôt retenue, que Liberatus a travaillé, la modifiant, l'adaptant, l'enrichissant et l'actualisant très considérablement en fonction de ses découvertes déjà évoquées dont à nos yeux la principale – à bien des égards, y compris parce qu'elle est perdue – s'avère le récit chalcédonien d'Alexandrie. De là la singularité radicale du *breviarium* en tant qu'objet historiographique et son altérité radicale, si on le compare à la chronique de Victor de Tonnona : alimentée elle aussi par les sources grecques, mais selon un tout autre schéma organisateur, elle relève d'un genre historiographique bien connu et susceptible, quant à lui, d'être perpétué.⁵⁵

IV. Un choix particulièrement significatif

Si l'on admet cette proposition, il convient d'en tirer certaines conséquences mieux à même de révéler les visées du récit : en s'appliquant à déployer la problématique de ce texte de référence, Liberatus ne cesse de témoigner de son adhésion à l'un des motifs centraux du discours hérésiologique romain tel qu'il a été décisivement constitué par Léon.⁵⁶ Cette fidélité intégrale au modèle qui dénonce symétriquement Nestorius et Eutychès explique le développement thématique du titre (*breviarium causae nestorianorum et eutychianorum*) et suggère sa probable authenticité. Pour autant, Liberatus n'épouse pas complètement le thème de la *praedicatio* romaine qui, à en croire Léon, proclamerait au monde où se situe la juste *via media*, que le concile serait invité à constater. Héritier d'une ecclésiologie de l'autonomie, l'Africain lui préfère le critère inversé d'un enseignement

⁵² *Collectio Avellana, Appendix II, 791–5.*

⁵³ *Appendix codicis Theodosiani novis constitutionibus cumulator, cum epistolis aliquot veterum conciliorum et pontificum romanorum, nunc primum editis* (Paris, 1631), 111 ; voir aussi Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen*, 264.

⁵⁴ Sur ce point, voir notre livre *Le Siège de Rome et l'Orient*, CEF 460 (Rome, 2012), 45–9.

⁵⁵ Continué par Jean de Biclar sur la période 567–590. Cf. C. Cardelle de Hartmann dans Iohannes Biclaensis, *Chronicon*, CCSL 173A (Turnhout, 2002), 132*.

⁵⁶ Sur celui-ci, voir notre article 'Rome contre Alexandrie ? L'interprétation pontificale de l'enjeu monophysite (de l'émergence de la controverse eutychienne au schisme acacien 448–484)', *Adamantius* 12 (2006), 168–92.

conciliaire, préparé peut-être, mais surtout garanti par Rome. Ce principe conforte également l'intentionnalité tricapitoline de Liberatus : à l'instar de Ferrand, il accueille la formule théopaschite mais condamne sans réserve l'indignité de Vigile, en raison de sa terrible rupture avec la tradition du Siège apostolique et la fustige d'une mémorable sentence : en cherchant à s'accorder d'emblée avec les hiérarques miaphysites, il aurait annulé le célèbre *Tome à Flavien*.⁵⁷ Cette même préservation par le *breviarium* d'un schème central conforme au discours pontifical de la fin du V^e siècle explique dans une certaine mesure les spécificités géo-ecclésiologiques quelque peu archaïsantes de Liberatus. Résumons-les brièvement : une remarquable hypertrophie de la place alexandrine que renforce (que confirme peut-être aussi) sa documentation, un souci évident de minorer la centralisation constantinopolitaine, une attention médiocre à l'égard d'Antioche (y compris quand Sévère en est l'archevêque).⁵⁸ C'est encore ce modèle de construction, fondé sur le socle d'un récit romain, amplement complété d'après des sources empruntées à l'Orient grec, qui permet de mieux comprendre que le récit fasse paradoxalement silence sur les conditions de retour à la communion romaine des Églises longtemps séparées (« schisme acacien ») ou ne mentionne le pape Hormisdas que pour dire qu'il était le père de Silvère.⁵⁹ Bref la grille de lecture propre au *breviarium* procède du choix d'un point de vue d'abord romain, tourné vers l'Orient et spécialement concentré sur Alexandrie, le tout considéré par un Africain curieux et mobile malgré lui, désireux surtout de justifier une opposition résolue à la politique religieuse de Justinien.

Constitué de la sorte, le travail du diacre carthaginois n'est pas seulement un insolite objet : il se distingue par une richesse d'information peu commune et dispense une connaissance d'autant moins partagée par ses contemporains, clercs ou laïcs, de Proconsulaire et des autres provinces africaines, qu'elle procède d'un cours événementiel dont ils ont été très largement tenus à l'écart. En outre, devant la crise tôt suscitée en Afrique par la condamnation des Trois Chapitres, le *Breviarium* apparaît comme un résumé historique commode tant pour les intéressés qui souhaitent s'affronter au long raisonnement de Facundus d'Hermiane que pour ceux qui préfèrent s'en abstenir. Il n'est pas exclu d'ailleurs que Liberatus ait mûri son intention après avoir pris connaissance du

⁵⁷ Liberatus 22, 138₆₋₇. Le courrier sur lequel s'appuie cette affirmation est très probablement un faux. Voir J. Speigl, 'Leo quem Vigilius condemnavit', dans M. Weitlauf et K. Hausberger, eds., *Papsttum und Kirchenreform. Historische Beiträge. Festschrift für G. Schwaiger zum 65. Geburtstag* (St Ottilien, 1990), 7-8, 15 et notre 'Différentes évaluations d'une crise', cit..

⁵⁸ Concernant Sévère, Liberatus, 19, 133-4, traite de façon assez détaillée d'épisodes situés immédiatement avant (présence à Constantinople, affrontement avec l'archevêque Macédonius, adaptation artificieuse de son régime de communion) ou après son exercice (fuite vers Séleucie de Piérie puis l'Égypte) et pour l'essentiel hors d'Antioche. A contrario son épiscopat est abordé en quelques lignes assez vagues.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 22, 136₁₈₋₁₉.

Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum.⁶⁰ Mais il n'y fait à aucun moment référence. Comme si ce rapport devait rester implicite. Bref, il apparaît qu'en choisissant le format du *breuiarium*, Liberatus a bien voulu faire œuvre d'historien et non de polémiste. Il s'est approché, autant qu'il le pouvait, du genre de l'histoire ecclésiastique, sans toutefois l'adopter. Cette possibilité, on l'a dit ne lui était guère ouverte puisque, tout chalcédonien qu'il fût, le sens des événements qu'il discernait n'était pas compatible avec le contrôle du passé imposé par Justinien, contrôle sans doute craint pour un temps encore après sa mort. Mais ce n'est pas la seule raison qui a conduit Liberatus à opter pour le *breuiarium* et à en adapter le contenu pour en faire un ouvrage d'historiographie chrétienne. Il aura voulu composer un texte court, dense, justificatif, destiné à fournir les indispensables réponses sur la genèse de la controverse des Trois Chapitres à des lecteurs engagés dans une lutte de plus en plus incertaine, clercs et laïcs africains surtout. Au moment où les moyens de la résistance diminuaient drastiquement, ils auront bien compris la valeur testimoniale d'un récit qui entretenait une parenté intime avec la *breuiatio canonum* de Ferrand pour rappeler quelle était la véritable tradition de l'Église carthaginoise.

Fruit de circonstances particulières, composé en vue d'un combat bientôt perdu, le *breuiarium* n'a suscité ni continuation ni imitation. Il n'a pas davantage connu une ample postérité. Sa conservation même lui vient notamment de la relation entretenue par le récit avec les lettres de réponses épiscopales au questionnaire de l'empereur Léon (*codex encyclius*, 457–458). Les deux ensembles forment en effet le cœur de la *Collectio Sangermanensis*.⁶¹ Sans doute en va-t-il ainsi parce que Liberatus en envoya un exemplaire au Vivarium. C'est de là sûrement qu'il tenait la *Tripartita*,⁶² ainsi, peut-être, que la traduction du *codex encyclius* réalisée par le secrétaire de Cassiodore, Épiphanes, si l'on en croit Patzold, lorsqu'il identifie cette collection aux lettres des saints pères signalées dans la préface de Liberatus.⁶³ En tout cas, il fallut la médiation de la *Sangermanensis* pour que le *breuiarium* s'assure une diffusion, bien loin de son berceau d'origine, à partir du nord de la Gaule carolingienne.⁶⁴ Ainsi, à l'instar du cheminement qui avait présidé à sa conception, la transmission de l'ouvrage de Liberatus serait-elle à son tour placée sous le signe d'une pérégrination inattendue.

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⁶⁰ Achevé entre le 29 juin 547 et le 11 avril 548, l'ouvrage est rendu public en Afrique en 550 vraisemblablement. Voir notre 'Service diaconal', 549.

⁶¹ St. Patzold, 'Spurensuche', 233.

⁶² P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecques en Occident. De Macrobe à Cassiodore*, BÉFAR 159 (Rome, 1948²), 362.

⁶³ St. Patzold, 'Spurensuche', 233.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 237.

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Abstract

The work of Liberatus, deacon of Carthage, the *Breviarium causae nestorianorum et eutychianorum* comprises a small work dealing with the christological disputes of the East in 24 chapters, from the sermon of Nestorius to the promulgation of the first edict of Justinian against the Three Chapters (428–544). Composed probably shortly before June 566, the work offers an original digest of ecclesiastical events of great importance. The work of the Carthaginian deacon is particularly remarkable for its unusual wealth of detail. He displays a knowledge of events beyond the horizons of his contemporaries of Proconsularis and the other North African provinces, whether clergy or laymen. The work itself is, moreover, an unusual historiographical case. While Liberatus himself seems to have given the work the title *breviarium*, he does not always seem to have regarded brevity as its prime requirement. Instead he seems to have been inspired by the model of the *Church histories*, to the extent even of citing significant documents *in extenso*, such as the Henotikon of Zeno (482). It appears nevertheless that the deacon preferred not to take up the Eusebian model explicitly. It is necessary therefore to explain the reasons behind the surprising choice of Liberatus, apparently ill at odds with its subject. Does he aim to establish a link through his narrative style to the secular genre also designated *breviarium*? What is the connection between Liberatus' project and another literary form characterised by considerations of length, the epitome? In responding to these questions, we consider in more detail the modifications Liberatus' text made in regard to well-established editorial practices, since the deacon drew inspiration also from comparable techniques of abridgement that existed in canonical matters. Above all, he based himself on a small historical work consulted at Rome, which itself is difficult to categorise: this provided him with both the heart of his narrative and an opportunity to enrich it considerably. As a result of this choice, Liberatus was able to develop a style freed from most constraints at a time when the tight control over the writing of history once exercised by emperor-historian Justinian was still feared.

Chapter 6

The Emergence of Papal Decretals: The Evidence of Zosimus of Rome

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There are fewer than two dozen surviving letters of Zosimus, bishop of Rome from 417 to 418, preserved in a variety of places. The largest group is found in the *Collectio Arelatensis*, and concerns Zosimus' response to the bishop of Arles who was claiming an expanded authority over several other Gallic metropolitan bishops.¹ Others, mainly dealing with Zosimus' response to Pelagianism, are found in the *Collectio Avellana*, that sixth-century collection of imperial and papal letters mostly not preserved elsewhere.² A couple are found in a variety of manuscript collections in which they have been labelled as decretals rather than simply as letters. Since the earliest labelled document as a decretal is held to be a letter from Siricius (384–99) from the previous generation it could be concluded that we have evidence of a new literary genre appearing.

If decretals are a new form of letter, then it would be reasonable to conclude that there was some transformation in the epistolary genre in late antiquity, at least as far as papal letters are concerned. This is how the situation is most commonly understood, but is it correct? This paper seeks to examine the emergence of decretals as a literary genre using Zosimus as our particular example, and argues that the term decretal reflects more of an interpretative attitude of those who later collected the letters of the Roman bishops than of the authors themselves, at least at the start of the fifth century. I shall suggest that these collectors invested the letters with a type of authority not envisaged by their authors and that the transmission of these letters in this way contributed to the augmenting of papal authority over the centuries. A decretal is not a new type of letter but a new way of labelling a whole range of documents, including letters, that were seen as having a particular force. We may

¹ *Coll. Arel. Epp.* 1–7 (W. Gundlach [ed.], *Epistolae Arelatenses Genuinae*, MGH. Epp. 3 [Munich, 1978], 5–13). See G.D. Dunn, 'Zosimus and the Gallic Churches', in Wendy Mayer and Bronwen Neil, eds, *Religious Conflict from Early Christianity to the Rise of Islam*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* 121 (Berlin, 2013), 169–85.

² *Coll. Avell. Epp.* 45–7 and 50 (CSEL 35.99–111 and 115–17). On the *Coll. Avell.* see K. Blair-Dixon, 'Memory and Authority in Sixth-Century Rome: The *Liber Pontificalis* and the *Collectio Avellana*', in K. Cooper and J. Hillner, eds, *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome 300–900* (Cambridge, 2007), 59–76, and the chapters by Philippe Blauddau (Chapter 5) and Iuliana Vieuxure (Chapter 7) in this volume.

begin by considering the evidence from the manuscripts themselves about the emergence of the term.

Decretals

Papal letters frequently appear in medieval manuscripts alongside canons of synods. The compilers of these manuscripts accorded to some papal letters the same degree of authority as the decisions of synods by presenting the material together. The question is: were the Roman bishops writing some communication as letters and some as decretals at this time?

In the nineteenth century Friedrich Maassen grouped manuscripts of this material together into individual *collectiones* depending upon the sequence of material within the manuscripts as well as upon similarities in textual variants. One mid-eight-century manuscript in Munich³ he identified as its own *collectio*, dating from the end of the fifth century,⁴ because of its unique arrangement of material, and named it the *Collectio Frisingensis*.⁵ It is important because of what it reveals about the term 'decretal'. Maassen noted that following a rubric that mentioned decretal letters (*epistolae decretales*) from various Roman bishops there followed a short series of letters, beginning with the one from Innocent I (Zosimus' predecessor) to Victricius of Rouen (*Etsi tibi* JK 286).⁶ However, he did not specify how many letters formed

³ E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, vol. 8: *Germany: Maria Laach-Würzburg* (Oxford, 1959), p. 8 (no. 1255); C.H. Turner, 'Latin Lists of Canonical Books 2: An Unpublished Stichometrical List from the Freising MS of Canons', *JTS* 2 (1901), 236–53, at 236; K. Silva-Tarouca, 'Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Papstbriefe des IV., V. u. VI. Jahrhunderts', *ZKTh* 43 (1919), 467–81 and 657–92, at 662, and H. Wurm, *Studien und Texte zur Dekretalensammlung des Dionysius Exiguus*, Kanonistische Studien und Texte 16 (Bonn, 1939), 81–2.

⁴ München, BSB, Clm 6243 (olim Frising, 43), f. 11r–189r, 200r–216v. To this has been added Würzburg, UB, M.p.th.f. 146. One must keep in mind the criticism of Maassen offered by R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), 253, that his notion that 'the latest text included in any one collection provided a secure date for its compilation' should be replaced by the notion that we have merely a *terminus a quo*.

⁵ F. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*, Bd 1 (Graz, 1870), 476–86. It is now known as *Collectio Firsingensis prima* to distinguish it from the material in the second half of the manuscript, which is an alternative collection of much the same material. See J. Gaudemet, *Les Sources du droit de l'Église en Occident du I^{er} au VII^e siècle*, Initiations au Christianisme Ancien 1 (Paris, 1985), 131–2; and L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140: A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature)*, History of Medieval Canon Law (Washington, DC, 1999), 2–3.

⁶ Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen*, 483. The rubric reads '*inc epistl decretalis diuersoru episcr urbis Rom per diuersas prouincias misse*'. A. Scharnagl, 'Die kanonistische Sammlung der Handschrift von Freising', in J. Schlecht, ed., *Wissenschaftliche Festgabe*

this group, which was left to Karl Silva-Tarouca: after Innocent's letter come another two by him (*Consulenti tibi* JK 293 and *Magna me* JK 303), then one by Zosimus (*Exigit dilectio* JK 339), and two by Celestine I (*Cuperemus quidem* JK 369 and *Nulli sacerdotum* JK 371).⁷ This was an identifiable group (a small *collectio* from about the 430s within the larger *collectio*) because none of the other five has its own rubric. Presumably the next letter from Celestine (*Tristitiae nostrae* JK 372), which follows the second of the Celestine letters, was not included because it had its own rubric.⁸

What we may conclude is that by about the third decade of the fifth century some letters from Roman bishops were being collected and identified as decretals. The compiler of the *Epistolae decretales* had a very restricted list of decretals, while the compilers of the later *collectiones* into which that primitive *collectio* was incorporated had a more expansive notion. Thus, it was the collectors not the authors who applied this term, but what it meant is nowhere specified in the manuscripts, although the word derives obviously from *decretum*. The term is an old one, but one, I argue, that was not familiar to all the authors whose letters have come now to be counted as decretals.

One is left to work from the particular examples to determine the general definition. Jasper has summarised the scholarship on the term 'decretal'.⁹ It is regarded as the Roman bishop's equivalent of an imperial *rescriptum*, a formal and authoritative interpretation of law in reply to an enquiry (*relatio*) or petition (*libellus*).¹⁰ In Roman law, a *rescriptum* was usually a response on a point of law before a case had been heard, i.e., before the facts as alleged had been established.¹¹

zum zwölfhundertjährigen Jubiläum des heiligen Korbinian (Munich, 1924), 126–46, did not draw attention to this small *collectio*.

⁷ Silva-Tarouca, 'Beiträge', 680.

⁸ There is a complex argument to reinforce this opinion about the size of the small *collectio*, which involves comparison with a manuscript in Cologne, but space does not permit it to be developed here.

⁹ D. Jasper, 'The Beginning of the Decretal Tradition: Papal Letters from the Origin of the Genre through the Pontificate of Stephen V', in D. Jasper and H. Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages*, History of Medieval Canon Law (Washington, DC, 2001), 11–22.

¹⁰ J. Gaudemet, *La formation du droit séculier et droit de l'Église aux IV^e et V^e siècles* (Paris, 1957), 150.

¹¹ B. Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law*, Clarendon Law Series (Oxford, 1969 [rev. edn]), 18: 'Many of them [questions or petitions] would have no bearing on the private law, but it was permissible for either a judge or a litigant to seek a decision on a point of law involved in a case. There was no judgment, since there was no investigation of the facts, but the imperial ruling would determine what the decision must be if the facts were as stated in the petition.'; and T. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* (London, 1981), 30: 'From the citizen's point of view a rescript is a binding ruling as to his legal position but mere advice as to the suggested course of action. Although the petitioner is often addressed in the second person and even in the imperative ... the emperor is not really commanding him to do anything, but merely saying what he is legally entitled or bound or well-advised to do ... A

It dealt with clarifying the law rather than applying it to the facts of a case. As Tony Honoré points out, 'There is no procedure for enforcing a rescript.'¹² Certainly imperial *rescripta* showed a variety of content (some not even concerned with legal matters) and a variety of literary forms: from being full letters sent back to officials to a brief note written and signed at the bottom of the *libellus* itself, which was returned to the petitioner.¹³ In the late empire many *rescripta* were issued concerning applications for exemptions from the law, with a clear understanding that they applied, if granted, only to the immediate situation, yet they were regarded as precedent setting, particularly if they were not *contra ius*.¹⁴

The same understanding is generally applied to papal decretals. Their binding and authoritative nature was certainly central to how the word 'decretal' was understood and used in the later Middle Ages.¹⁵ Decretals are both juristic in that they issue a binding decision on the enquirer when the question is about a particular matter and legislative in that they issue binding regulations on the enquirer (and others who may be specified) when the question is more general and hypothetical. Somerville and Brasington write: 'thus a decretal, in contrast to other types of papal correspondence, is an instrument which conveys a legal decision'.¹⁶ Jalland detects that one of the key differences between a papal letter and a decretal is that the former uses the old language of appeal and the latter, from the time of Siricius, uses the new phraseology of menace.¹⁷ However, Gaudemet rightly points to a lack of precision in terminology and concept in the early period of papal correspondence.¹⁸ He notes carefully that such letters were guides for the daily lives of clergy; he avoids defining their legal status or investing them with binding authority.¹⁹ Thus, the trouble with Jalland is that he understood the word as it was in later medieval times and projected that understanding back. One is more inclined to agree with Fransen that originally 'l'usage appelle "décrétale" toute lettre pontificale contenue dans un recueil canonique'.²⁰ In other words, one should not understand decretal

rescript is not a judgment, and Wenger's phrase "unanfechtbare Entscheidungen" is doubly misconceived. Nor does a rescript possess the generality of a legislative act.'

¹² Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers*, 30, n. 45.

¹³ O.F. Robinson, *The Sources of Roman Law: Problems and Methods for Ancient Historians*, Approaching the Ancient World (London and New York, 1997), 36.

¹⁴ J. Matthews, *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code* (New Haven, 2000), 13–16; and C. Humfress, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2007), 122–4.

¹⁵ W. Holtzmann, *Studies in the Collections of Twelfth-Century Decretals*, ed. C.R. Cheney and M.G. Cheney, Monumenta Iuris Canonici series B: Corpus Collectionum 3 (Vatican City, 1979).

¹⁶ R. Somerville and B.C. Brasington, *Prefaces to Canon Law Books in Latin Christianity: Selected Translations, 500–1245* (New Haven and London, 1998), 8.

¹⁷ T.G. Jalland, *The Church and the Papacy: An Historical Study* (New York, 1944), 269.

¹⁸ Gaudemet, *La formation*, 149.

¹⁹ Gaudemet, *Les sources*, 63.

²⁰ G. Fransen, *Les décrétales et les collections de décrétales* (Turnhout, 1972), 12.

as a new type of pontifical letter emerging at the end of the fourth century, which, if that were the case, would suggest that there was a transformation of the literary genre, but rather, agreeing with Dominic Moreau, as a catch-all term used by the later canonical compilers to include all types of writings from Roman bishops that they (the compilers) considered authoritative and wanted to be distributed widely and accepted.²¹ In other words, a variety of literary genres could be included under the heading of decretal, and originally what was a decretal was determined by the person collecting the material not the Roman bishops writing it.

How early are documents labelled decretals actually decretals as later understood? When can some papal correspondence be distinguished from the rest as decretals? The answer will come if we are able to determine the degree of authority invested in a letter from a Roman bishop both by its sender and its receiver and not by later compilers of collections of such letters. Certainly as the fifth century progressed Roman bishops came to regard their letters as having this degree of authority, as their language reveals, and they were increasingly regarded that way by others.²² They were truly decretals. But was this the case at the beginning of the century?

Jasper certainly thinks it was. He sees Innocent I's letters as displaying a developed sense of papal authority.²³ Moreau also talks of the letter of Siricius as being 'législation pontificale'.²⁴ Certainly Innocent considered the provisions of his letter to Victricius of Rouen to be a *liber regularum* that ought to be distributed to other bishops for them to implement, but yet it was one provided as a *didascalium atque monitorem* in order to reveal *Romanae ecclesiae normam atque auctoritatem*.²⁵ The letter ends not with directives but with exhortations.²⁶ My argument is that the earliest of these letters from Roman bishops were not decretals, even though this is how they are preserved and were later regarded, but simply letters, and even as letters they are not necessarily to be considered *decreta* but rather statements of opinion, but ones where those opinions were expected to be accepted by the recipient. Of course, the greater the authority of the Roman bishop over the recipient, which was determined by whether the recipient looked to Rome as metropolitan, primate,

²¹ D. Moreau, 'Non impar conciliorum extat auctoritas: L'origine de l'introduction des lettres pontificales dans le droit canonique', in J. Desmulliez, C. Höet-van Cauwenberghé and J.-C. Jolivet, eds, *L'Étude des correspondances dans le monde romain: de l'antiquité classique à l'antiquité tardive. Permanences et mutations*, Actes du XXXe Colloque international de Lille, 20–22 novembre 2008, Collection travaux et recherche UL 3 (Lille, 2008), 487–506, at 489–94.

²² H. Getzeny, *Stil und Form der ältesten Papstbriefe bis auf Leo d. Gr.: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des römischen Primats* (Günzburg, 1922).

²³ Jasper, 'The Beginning of the Decretal Tradition', 14–15.

²⁴ Moreau, 'Non impar conciliorum', 494–8.

²⁵ Innocent I, *Ep. 2.1* (PL 20.669–70 = P. Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Clement I usque ad Innocentum III*, t. 1 [Paris, 1721], col. 746).

²⁶ Innocent I, *Ep. 2.17* (PL 20.481 = Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, cols 757–8).

patriarch or as extra-patriarchal (if one may employ such precise terms for a time when precision was lacking), the greater the authority of the letter.²⁷

But let us turn to the subject of this paper, Zosimus. To what extent may any of his letters be classified as decretals? Two of them appear in decretal collections. We begin by turning to the one mentioned above, which appeared in the very earliest collections, *Exigit dilectio*, written to Hesychius of Solin. An analysis of its language may indicate how Zosimus imagined it would be received and the degree to which he could expect compliance.

Hesychius of Solin

Solin (ancient Salona, capital of the province of Dalmatia in the civil diocese of Illyricum [which we may call Western Illyricum to distinguish it from the prefecture of Illyricum, which we may call Eastern Illyricum]) is about 8 km north of Croatia's second-largest city, Split (ancient Spalatum, the site of Diocletian's palace) and now is little more than an outer suburb of the latter. In late antiquity it was a flourishing centre of Christianity.²⁸ Rome and Milan competed with one another for influence in the region during the second half of the fourth century.²⁹

In the early fifth century we know that Hesychius was bishop. He sought advice from different bishops, like Augustine of Annaba (ancient Hippo Regius in the province of Proconsular Africa) and argued with him when he did not agree with what was offered.³⁰ About a year and a half before this Hesychius had written to Zosimus with his concerns about clergy promoted too rapidly without having advanced through a clerical *cursus honorum*. It is to this letter that Zosimus

²⁷ G.D. Dunn, 'The Development of Rome as Metropolitan of Suburbicarian Italy: Innocent I's *Letter to the Bruttians*', *Augustinianum* 51 (2011), 161–90.

²⁸ J. Zeiller, *Les origines chrétiennes dans la province romaine de Dalmatie*, Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études. Sciences historiques et philologiques, vol. 150 (Paris, 1906), 133–7; E. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Serie A.21 (Oslo, 1951); R. Popović, *Le christianisme sur le sol de l'Illyricum oriental jusqu'à l'arrivée des Slaves*, trans. A. Menassa, Institute for Balkan Studies, vol. 265 (Thessaloniki, 1996); V.B. Prozorov, 'The *Passion* of St. Domnius: The Tradition of Apostolic Succession in Dalmatia', *Scrinium* 2 (2006), 219–39; J. Jeličić-Radpmoć, 'Salona at the Time of Bishop Hesychius', *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 13 (2007), 13–24; and A.M. Yasin, 'Reassessing Salona's Churches: Martyrium Evolution in Question', *J ECS* 20 (2012), 59–112.

²⁹ J. Zeiller, 'Les relations de l'ancienne Église de Salone avec l'Église romaine', *Bessarione* Serie 2.4 (1903), 235–48.

³⁰ Augustine, *Epp.* 197 (NBA 23.332–6); 198 (NBA 23.338–46); and *De ciu. Dei* 20.5.4 (NBA 5/3.106–8). On these letters see J.-P. Bouhot, 'Hesychius de Salone et Augustin (lettres 197–198–199)', in A.-M. la Bonnardière (ed.), *Saint Augustin et la Bible. Bible de tous les temps* (Paris, 1986), 229–30.

replied with *Exigit dilectio* on 21 February 418.³¹ I would consider that Hesychius considered Zosimus' letter to have the same degree of authority as Augustine's. In other words, he was appealing for expert opinion but would not feel bound by it if it was unpalatable. In other words, for Hesychius Zosimus was not a pope in the modern sense of that office.

The topic of clerical advancement was one Zosimus had written on before, as we see in his letter *Quid de Proculi* to Patroclus of Arles,³² a copy of which he was surprised Hesychius had not received, and it had been discussed by at least two of his predecessors: Siricius (384–99) in his letter *Directa* to Himerius of Tarragona (ancient Tarraco in the province of Tarraconensis) and Innocent I (402–17) in his letters *Mirari non possumus* to Felix of Nocera (somewhere in Italy) and *Saepe me* to the Spanish bishops, all of which would appear eventually in many of the medieval collections of synodal and decretal canons.³³ The concern of the Roman bishops was to prevent men of untested character achieving high clerical office by demanding (and there is variation between what the Roman bishops specify) that they hold a succession of such offices with mandated minimum ages or minimum lengths of time for holding offices regulating their advancement, often differing depending upon whether a candidate had become a Christian in infancy or later in life, as well as demanding they fulfil other conditions of suitability, particularly with regard to marriage.³⁴ Zosimus wants a presbyter to be what the word implies, someone of mature age.³⁵

³¹ Zosimus, *Ep.* 9 (PL 20.669–73 = Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, cols 968–71) = P Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, Bd. 1: *A S. Petro ad a. MCXLIII*, rev. W. Wattenbach, S. Lowenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald (Leipzig, 1885 [rev. edn]) (= JK), n. 339.

³² Zosimus, *Ep.* 7 (PL 20.668–9 = Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, cols 961–2) = JK 333.

³³ Siricius, *Ep.* 1 (PL 13.1132–47 = Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, cols 623–38) = JK 255; Innocent I, *Epp.* 37 (PL 20.603–5 = Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, cols 910–12) = JK 314; and 3 (PL 20.485–93 = Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, cols 763–71) = JK 286. On this last letter see G.D. Dunn, 'Innocent I and the First Synod of Toledo', in G.D. Dunn, ed., *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot, forthcoming). If one accepts that Damasus (366–84) wrote *Dominus inter*, as does Y.-M. Duval, *La décrétale Ad Gallos Episcopos: son texte et son auteur. Texte critique, traduction française et commentaire*, *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 73 (Leiden and Boston, 2005), then we would have at least three of Zosimus' predecessors who wrote on the topic of a clerical *cursus honorum*.

³⁴ See C. Pietri, *Roma Christiana. Recherches sur l'Église de Rome, son organisation, sa politique, son idéologie de Miltiade à Sixte III (311–440)*, *BÉFAR*, vol. 224 (Rome, 1976), 690–96; D.G. Hunter, 'Clerical Marriage and Episcopal Elections in the Latin West', in J. Leemans, P. van Nuffelen, S.W.J. Keough and C. Nicolay, eds, *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, *Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte* 119 (Berlin, 2011), 183–202, at 193; and G.D. Dunn, 'The Clerical *Cursus Honorum* in the Late Antique Roman Church', *Scrinium* 9 (2013), 76–90.

³⁵ Zosimus, *Ep.* 9.1.2 (PL 20.671).

This was an issue that related not only to Solin, for we have seen that it was a topic of interest for more than a generation in Spain, Gaul, Italy (as it was also in Africa³⁶), so it is little wonder that a letter on this topic was thought worthy to include later as a decretal canon. The unanswered question is why this letter of Zosimus rather than any other on the topic was chosen for the earliest of these little collections, like the *Canones urbicani* and the *Epistolae decretales*. Perhaps as the most recent it was held to be the most developed statement on the topic.

For our purposes the key question is whether there is anything in the letter itself that suggests that we should think that Zosimus thought of it not as a letter but as a decretal (in the later-developed sense). Was he part of this literary transformation of genre? It certainly is a response to a request. Let us look at the language employed in it.

Zosimus does refer to the teaching of the apostolic see on the question of clerical advancement both as a *praeceptum* and *statuta* and indicates that a failure to follow a step-by-step approach to reaching the higher clerical offices was *specialiter ... interdictum*.³⁷ This certainly does sound like Zosimus considered that the statements issued by himself and his predecessors were decrees to be obeyed, yet this was the case only because the apostolic see was in agreement with *patrum decreta*.³⁸ Indeed, Zosimus reminds Hesychius that the only authority he needed as bishop to stop the rapid promotion of unworthy individuals is *praeceptis patrum*. Somewhat more explicitly, Zosimus says that he does not believe that Hesychius' own authority was so lacking that he needed to consult Rome, but he was happy to add the weight of his support.³⁹ *Tecum faciunt praecepta patrum, tecum apostolicae sedis auctoritas*.⁴⁰ If these sources of authority, the Fathers and the apostolic see, are neglected, Zosimus assures Hesychius then the apostolic see will be vigorous in their defence.⁴¹ Of course the fathers at Nicaea had not been so specific as to set out minimum ages and lengths of service in particular offices before there could be advancement as

³⁶ For the details see Dunn, 'The Clerical *Cursus Honorum*', 88–9.

³⁷ Zosimus, *Ep.* 9.I.1 (*PL* 20.670).

³⁸ Who were these *patres*? Normally one would take this to mean the bishops assembled at the Council of Nicaea in 325, but that council had not discussed this topic. It had been discussed at the Synod of Sofia (ancient Serdica in the province of Dacia Mediterranea) in 343, as we find in canon 13 in the Latin (... *non prius ordinetur nisi ante et lectoris munere et officio diaconii et ministerio presbyterii fuerit perfunctus; ut per singulos grados [si dignus fuerit] ascendat ad culmen episcopatus*) and Theodotion texts (= canon X in the Greek text) and we know that in Rome the canons of Sofia had been added to those of Nicaea such that they were believed to be Nicene. On the interpretation of this canon see H. Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Serdica*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford, 2002), 157–61.

³⁹ Zosimus, *Ep.* 9.I.2 (*PL* 20.670): *Igitur si quid auctoritati tuae, quod nos non opinamur, aestimas defuisse, supplemus.*

⁴⁰ Zosimus, *Ep.* 9.I.2 (*PL* 20.671).

⁴¹ Zosimus, *Ep.* 9.II.4 (*PL* 20.672): *Sciet quisquis hoc postposita patrum et apostolicae sedis auctoritate neglexerit, a nobis districtius uindicandum ...*

Zosimus and his predecessors had done. In the letter Zosimus is neither mandating these regulations explicitly nor is he merely holding them out as statements of what happens in Rome, which he considers worthy of imitation elsewhere. They are more like his expectations, which he presumes will be adopted unquestioningly, and his explanation of what he believes is the church's tradition. There are no statements about what a failure to comply would elicit from Rome, although there is a reference to consequences, like the loss of position; there is little of Jalland's menace here. Zosimus does not issue binding instructions but we are well on the way there. It is authoritative language but not 'the strongest language of authority' as Kenrick claimed.⁴²

It is not surprising that Hesychius wrote to Zosimus.⁴³ Solin was in Western Illyricum, which at this time belonged to the prefecture of Italy,⁴⁴ and given how the church was increasingly patterned in its judicial processes on the hierarchical pattern of Roman provincial administration, whereby appeals were sent up to a bishop with judicial oversight for larger territories (from the local bishop to a metropolitan within a province, from a province to what we may term a primate within a civil diocese, and from a diocese to what we may term a patriarch within a prefecture),⁴⁵ it is little wonder that bishops within that prefecture turned to their leading bishop not only for legal pronouncement but for advice as well. My point is that, natural though it was for a bishop in Solin to turn to Rome with questions, he was looking for advice not directives.⁴⁶ Zosimus certainly provided advice, but fully expected it to be adopted not merely considered.

⁴² F.P. Kenrick, *The Primacy of the Apostolic See Vindicated* (Philadelphia, 1845), 157.

⁴³ I certainly agree with Pietri, *Roma Christiana*, 1101–5, against J. Zeiller, 'Une ébauche de vicariat pontifical sous le pape Zosime', *Revue Historique* 155 (1927), 326–32, that Zosimus was trying to create Hesychius as primate of Western Illyricum.

⁴⁴ For the place of Illyricum within the late Roman empire and the influence this had on ecclesiastical authority structures see G.D. Dunn, 'Innocent I and Anysius of Thessalonica', *Byzantion* 77 (2007), 124–48.

⁴⁵ This pattern develops unevenly, but we can see outlines of how it was developing in the canons from the Synod of Sofia in 343 and from the Synod of Rome in 378. On the latter see Ambrose, *Ep. extra collect.* 7 (CSEL 82/3.191–7) and Emperor Gratian's indirect response in his letter *Ordinarium sententias* (CSEL 35.54–8). See J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz and C. Hill, *Ambrose of Milan: Political Letters and Speeches*, TTH, vol. 43 (Liverpool, 2005), 244–8.

⁴⁶ I think as a general rule of interpretation of these letters, one should adopt the principle that the questioner knew what the answer would be and asked the question precisely to get the answer they got, which could then be used against local opponents, given Rome's pre-eminence.

Ex relatione

The second letter of Zosimus to appear in a number of the decretal *collectiones* is one written on 3 October 418, about three months before he died.⁴⁷ A group of Roman clergy had gone to the court of Honorius in Ravenna, presumably to complain about something Zosimus had done. We are never given the details of the matter. They had written (presumably to Zosimus) and he had written a reply he had not sent.⁴⁸ Another group had also gone to Ravenna, and Zosimus had just received a report about them from a presbyter named Archidamus.⁴⁹ This letter (*Ex relatione*) is written to the latter group after Zosimus had read the report. He seems to inform them that he is sending with it the unsent letter, which does not survive.⁵⁰ In that other letter Zosimus had excommunicated the first group of clergy, as he informs the second group.⁵¹ The letter ends with a possible warning to the second group, for they seem to be sympathisers with the first:⁵² if they fail to distance themselves from that first group they would be dealt with when they returned to Rome.⁵³ Many scholars see the consequence of this rebellion and division within the Roman clergy playing itself out after the death of Zosimus, in the schism between Boniface and Eulalius.⁵⁴

Yet, there is something restrained about the way Zosimus treats this second group. They are referred to in the third person (*se ... iunxerunt*) rather than the second, which has a less confrontational feel to it.

Zosimus is able to mask any personal affront with a legitimate grievance: these clergy had gone to the emperor contrary to the law. This is probably a reference to canons from the 343 Synod of Sofia (ancient Serdica). They dealt specifically

⁴⁷ Zosimus, *Ep.* 14 (PL 20.678–80 = Coustant, *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*, cols 979–81) = JK 345.

⁴⁸ Zosimus, *Ep.* 14 (PL 20.679): *Ad quos haec, quae nunc misimus, olim scripta feceramus, eorum qua iniuriose miserant respondentes epistolis.*

⁴⁹ M. Marcos, 'Papal Authority, Local Autonomy and Imperial Control: Zosimus and the Western Churches (a. 417–18)', in A. Fear, J. Fernández Ubiña and M. Marcos, eds, *The Role of the Bishop in Late Antiquity: Conflict and Compromise* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 145–66, at 159, thinks Archidamus was from Ravenna.

⁵⁰ Zosimus, *Ep.* 14 (PL 20.679): ... *has ad uos illis tradendas litteras destinauimus ...*

⁵¹ Zosimus, *Ep.* 14 (PL 20.679): ... *in quibus decreto nostro sanximus, memoratos perturbatores omnium ab apostolicae nostrae sedis communione alienos fuisse ...*

⁵² E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, Bd 1: *Römische Kirche und Imperium Romanum* (Tübingen, 1930), 360; and E.G. Weltin, *The Ancient Popes, The Popes Through History*, vol. 2 (Westminster, Md, 1964), 282.

⁵³ Zosimus, *Ep.* 14 (PL 20.680): *De his uero, qui eorum se societati iunxerunt, quid agere debeamus, cum reuersi fueritis, consilio meliori tractabimus.*

⁵⁴ Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, 360: 'Was die "Rebellen" aus dem römischen Presbyterium in Ravenna betrieben hatten, ist nicht bekannt, aber daß die Oppositionsbewegung mit diesem päpstlichen Eingreifen nicht erledigt war, sollte sich bald zeigen.'

with visits to the imperial court by self-serving bishops, not lower clergy.⁵⁵ In fact, a bishop who wanted to petition the imperial court for something was directed to send his deacons there, after first having acquainted his own metropolitan bishop of his request. From 393 the African bishops too were to begin to impose restrictions on bishops travelling to Rome with petitions for the emperor, particularly as manoeuvres in the settling of the Donatist controversy.⁵⁶ Innocent I had to remind the Africans to observe this in 405.⁵⁷ The Africans issued fresh instructions in 407.⁵⁸ The appeal of Apiarius, an African presbyter, to the imperial court in 418, which involved Zosimus in a dispute with the African bishops, indicates that there was an oversight in canonical legislation in dealing with lower clergy.⁵⁹ Only in May 418 did the Africans get around to being specific in forbidding lower clergy from appealing overseas against local decisions by their bishops; their appeal process was to be exhausted within Africa.⁶⁰ We do not know of any similar restriction on Italian clergy, so either Zosimus is extrapolating and expanding from Sofia or else that law is lost to us.

For all that, though, *Ex relatione* is not a decretal in any sense the word would later acquire. Zosimus' information comes from Archidamus in a report (*relatio*), but the reply is not to him. He has not asked a question or sought advice about some pastoral or legal matter to which Zosimus gives his opinion or ruling, which could be taken as a precedent for other cases. The Roman clergy in Ravenna probably did not expect to receive a letter from their bishop. The letter accompanies a document of excommunication. It contains information and some warning.

What is more, the matter does not concern any other church, it is purely an internal matter for the local Roman church. Zosimus could be as authoritative as he wanted; he was dealing after all with his own clergy, not with a fellow bishop. He did not have to appeal to Petrine tradition or the status of the apostolic see to make his point or elicit compliance, he was their local bishop and had all the power he needed to deal with them. To say that Zosimus thought he had the same authority and same arsenal of weapons, like excommunication, with which to enforce his will over every other cleric in the church throughout the Mediterranean world would be wrong. So this letter does not possess the characteristics of a decretal.

⁵⁵ Synod of Sofia (Serdica), can. 8–12 (Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law*, 216–20 – Latin version) = can. VII–IXb (Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law*, 230–32 – Greek version) = can. T10–12 and 25 (Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law*, 246–8, 254 – Theodotion version).

⁵⁶ *Breuiarium Hipponense*, can. 27 (CCSL 149.41).

⁵⁷ *Registri ecclesiae Carthaginensis excerpta*, can. 94d (CCSL 149.214).

⁵⁸ *Registri ecclesiae Carthaginensis excerpta*, can. 106 (CCSL 149.218–19). See J.E. Merdinger, *Rome and the African Church in the Time of Augustine* (New Haven and London, 1997), 94–109.

⁵⁹ See G.D. Dunn, 'The Appeal of Apiarius to the Transmarine Church of Rome', *JAEMA* 8 (2012), 9–29.

⁶⁰ *Registri ecclesiae Carthaginensis excerpta*, can. 125 (CCSL 149.227).

Conclusion

From about 440 a number of letters from recent Roman bishops begin to be gathered together into collections of what came to be termed decretals: responses to particular questions about church life and discipline that were seen as applicable in wider contexts and which could be seen as a handy reference to how the Roman church regulated the life of the church, particularly its clergy. This process of collecting them and labelling them as decretals invested them with an increasing authority and in part contributed to the notion that these letters from Roman bishops had a binding legal authority.

From Roman law what we gather is that a variety of epistolary forms were involved in the legal functioning of the emperor issuing *rescripta*: from *libelli* to *epistolae*. It was not so much a case of transition of form, as it was mixture. From early in the fifth century only two of Zosimus' letters were included in the decretal collections. This chapter examined the extent to which these two letters reveal a transformation in the literary genre from letter to decretal. The argument is that there is nothing obvious in them to suggest such an alteration in genre. One, *Exigit dilectio*, concerned with clerical promotion, does have many of the characteristics of later decretals, but was not written by Zosimus as a binding directive but as an explanation of the church's law, based on tradition, which was binding. The second, *Ex relatione*, is entirely without decretal characteristics, dealing only with a matter purely internal to the local church of Rome about a deteriorating relationship between Zosimus and his clergy.

For early fifth-century Roman bishops like Zosimus it would no doubt have been pleasing, although I suspect somewhat surprising, for them to find their letters later elevated to the status of canon law, as we find in the decretal collections. It is not that Roman bishops of this particular time stopped writing letters and started writing decretals; there is no transformation of genre in that sense. What we do find is that collectors of this material gathered all types of communication from Roman bishops under the heading of decretal, which over time became a specific form of papal legislation adopted by the writers themselves. These collectors projected a level of authority back into these letters that has made tracing the development of papal primacy that much more difficult for scholars to unravel.

Chapter 7

Collectio Avellana and the Unspoken Ostrogoths: Historical Reconstruction in the Sixth Century

Dana Iuliana Vezure

As the fights over Christological orthodoxy in the fifth and sixth centuries placed in sharp contrast the notions of tradition and innovation, the former associated with orthodoxy and the latter with heresy, arguments from tradition and authority became more and more popular.¹ Compilations of patristic proof-texts (the so-called *florilegia*) thus became a prominent genre. By the early sixth century, selectively compiled material shaped a new type of theological discourse and became its central mode of argumentation.²

The same technique of collecting, excerpting and compiling was also put to the service of history writing and image construction in a more openly programmatic and more systematic fashion.³ Collections of various documents, and in particular collections of letters, often outline coherent accounts of contemporary events and situations, bring into focus contemporary historical figures and institutions, and define power relations between various historical figures and institutions. In some cases these collections document perspectives on contemporary situations or events that are unparalleled in – and often complement – more traditional historical

¹ In the sixth century this blends into a wider critique of innovation which also shapes to a large extent the political discourse of the time. An extensive treatment of this topic can be found in S. Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition Between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae (527–554)* (Cambridge, 2013). Observations on this also in S. Bjornlie, 'The Rhetoric of *Varietas* and Epistolary Encyclopedism in the *Variae* of Cassiodorus,' Chapter 20 of this volume.

² See A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2/1, P. Allen and J. Cawte, trs, (Atlanta, GA, 1987), 21–2; P.T.R. Gray, 'Through the Tunnel with Leontius of Jerusalem: The Sixth-Century Transformation of Theology', in P. Allen and E. Jeffreys, eds, *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (Brisbane, 1996), 187–96.

³ Within this new theological discourse, the technique of excerpting also performs an effective historical reconstruction of the past; the discourse consciously configures 'tradition' by what it chooses to include, as well as by what it chooses to leave out. An interest in bringing out the exemplarity of the past and its internal coherence is central to these instances of historical reconstruction. See discussion in P.T.R. Gray, 'Through the Tunnel', 190–92.

accounts.⁴ As I argue in this chapter, the *Avellana*, a sixth-century collection of letters, preserves a unique perspective on the history of the early sixth century, and on the relations between the papacy, the Ostrogothic court in Ravenna and the imperial court in Constantinople.

E. Schwartz termed the fifth- and sixth-century collections of documents ‘*publizistische Sammlungen*’, a phrase hinting at hidden agendas upon which these collections stand. Listing and categorising the types of sources available to the historian of the Christological controversies, A. Grillmeier took over Schwartz’s term ‘*publizistische Sammlungen*’ and, in his categorisation of primary sources, distinguished sharply between this genre and historical writing proper. Grillmeier also warned that ‘the evaluation of such works is not easy, as they are dominated more or less by the selective or even “fashioning” spirit of the parties concerned.’⁵ The ‘fashioning spirit of the parties concerned’ is in fact a valuable component of historical narratives of this period, and this type of purposeful image construction mirroring particular lines of propaganda, embedded in sixth-century compilations, is equally present in more traditional historiographical genres. And, as in the case of traditional historiographical genres, there is as much scholarly benefit in exploring this ethos as there is in using the collections as repositories of significant primary documents.

Exploring the ‘fashioning spirit’, however, comes with a number of inherent difficulties in the case of the *publizistische Sammlungen*. For many of the collections, there are difficulties in reconstructing the context in which they were produced (most were put together in stages, often reusing older collections), in stating a vision or a primary agenda, as well as difficulty in establishing the textual connections between different collections containing similar and/or overlapping material.

In the introduction to his edition of the sixth-century *Collectio Avellana*, which contains primarily papal and imperial letters, O. Günther described the collection as not a very polished one (*non [...] ex omni parte perfectam*), and not meant, like Dionysius Exiguus’ collection of decretals, for example, for public use and distribution.⁶ In a more complicated hypothetical reconstruction, E. Schwartz retains the idea of the *Avellana* having been put together for private use, and

⁴ See recent historiographical discussions and contextualisations of the sixth-century collection of papal biographies, the *Liber pontificalis*, in K. Blair-Dixon, ‘Memory and Authority in Sixth-Century Rome: The *Liber pontificalis* and the *Collectio Avellana*’, in K. Cooper and J. Hillner, eds, *Religion, Dynasty, and Patronage in Early Christian Rome, 300–900* (Cambridge, 2007), 59–76 and R. McKitterick ‘Roman Texts and Roman History’, in C. Bolgia, R. McKitterick and J. Osborne, eds, *Rome Across Time and Space: Cultural Transmission and Exchanges of Ideas c. 400–1400* (Cambridge, 2011), 19–34.

⁵ A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2/1, 21.

⁶ O. Günther, ‘Prolegomena’, in O. Günther, ed., *Epistulae Imperatorum Pontificum Aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae Avellana quae dicitur collectio*, CSEL 35 (Prague, 1895/1898), I–XCIV, here II.

makes collection X, from which both *Berolinensis* (a ninth-century collection) and *Avellana* stem, into a product of papal propaganda from the chancery of Pope Hormisdas, intended for wider distribution.⁷

Determining the meaning and implications of public and private uses for sixth-century collections remains, in many cases, the domain of pure conjecture due to lack of contextual information. Even in the case of more straightforwardly polemical collections of letters like the *Collectio Veronensis*, a collection which brings strong criticism against the eastern approach to ecclesiastical politics and which E. Schwartz convincingly described as a late-fifth-century compilation intended to fight against a healing of the Acacian schism as envisioned by the conciliatory Pope Anastasius II,⁸ it is difficult to lay out with any degree of clarity how the material would have been used in practice, by whom it would have been consulted, and, given an unlikely wide publication, in what precise ways it would have served as propaganda. Answering these questions is all the more difficult for thematically more diverse collections, such as the *Avellana*. Conjecturing that the *Avellana* was produced for private use, and existed simultaneously with a collection containing similar material, now lost, that was meant as official papal propaganda, exposes the *Avellana* as a problematic source which lacks cohesion and clear purpose, and to which it is difficult to attach a clear historical narrative.

In the *Avellana*, the diversity of the material is considerably amplified by its chronological broadness: the letters start in 367 and, if we exclude letters 82–93 as a later interpolation (see the argument below), they end in 521. This long time-span obscures thematic cohesion and seems to justify O. Günther's description of the *Avellana* as '*silvam quandam*'.⁹ However, the *Avellana* contains a number of connecting narrative threads, among which an interest in schism and in imperial-papal relations stands out as the most prominent.

This chapter argues that the discourse of the *Collectio Avellana* is in fact characterised by even stronger thematic coherence. The 'fashioning spirit' of the *Avellana* is broader than the easily discernible interest in schisms and papal-imperial relations, and builds an image of the papacy as independent of Ostrogothic influence.¹⁰ The *Avellana* does this by incorporating extensive anti-Arian material

⁷ E. Schwartz, 'Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma', in *ABAW, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung* 10 (Munich, 1934), 287. Günther was the first to propose the existence of a lost collection X ('Prolegomena', LVI), without, however, offering a more developed argument regarding its hypothetical context, and he also believed that the *Avellana* was put together for private use ('Prolegomena', II).

⁸ E. Schwartz, 'Publizistische Sammlungen', 273–4; Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* 2/1, 27.

⁹ O. Günther, 'Prolegomena', II.

¹⁰ Enhancing the discourse of papal authority was central to several contemporary collections, and could be achieved in different ways. G. Dunn's study in Chapter 6 of this book, 'The Emergence of Papal Decretals: The Evidence of Zosimus of Rome', argues compellingly for an increase in legal status of papal correspondence at the hands of late-fifth- and sixth-century collectors, who used techniques such as excerpting and

(which can be construed as an allusion to the lack of legitimacy of the Ostrogothic regime in Italy), and, more conspicuously, by editing out in a radical manner the Ostrogoths from the historical narrative of the late fifth and early sixth centuries. Reassessed in this way, the ‘fashioning spirit’ of the *Avellana* can be extended to parts of the collection traditionally viewed as disconnected thematically from its main core, notably to the material on Damasus/Ursinus and Boniface/Eulalius.

General Remarks on Thematic Coherence in the *Avellana*

By far the most elaborate and thematically coherent part of the *Avellana* is the fifth part, letters 105–243. These are letters written during the papacy of Hormisdas (515–23) and are concerned with the healing of the Acacian schism, as well as with defining the power relations between East and West. The choice of material, and a series of compilation techniques that include selective presentation and chronological rearrangements, create the image of a strong Pope Hormisdas at the centre of a tightly knit ecclesiastical and political network. The letters in the fifth part of the *Avellana* show pope and emperor, Rome and Constantinople, negotiating the healing of the Acacian schism in 518–19, and working together to maintain the newly re-established religious unity of the empire (through letters going to 521). Hormisdas is depicted as an able negotiator who successfully defines the appropriate mode of imperial intervention in Church affairs. That these letters form the focal point of the collection is indicated not only by the strong thematic coherence, but also by the sheer amount of material, considerably more voluminous than that of any of the other popes included in the collection, and by the careful preservation of dates and names of letter carriers, unmatched in other sections of the collection. Letters 51–81 and 94–104, covering the period 460–512/3, add considerable vigour to this primary core, and seem to have been intended as proof that the model of strong, independent popes, which culminates in Hormisdas, extends back in time and finds worthy antecedents in popes Leo I, Simplicius and Gelasius.

While this straightforward depiction of the papacy as a powerful and independent institution is certainly of primary interest to the *Avellana*, the core of the collection also reveals much about the compiler’s agenda through its conspicuous omissions. In this respect, the presentation of Pope Hormisdas in the *Avellana* is most interesting, especially when compared to the only other extant detailed presentation of Hormisdas’ career, the one in *Liber pontificalis*. Like the *Avellana*, the *Liber pontificalis*, the first edition of which was completed shortly after 530,¹¹ focuses its discussion of Pope Hormisdas’ career on the healing of the Acacian

re-contextualisation to recast as decretals early fifth-century papal letters that originally lacked binding, universal legal power.

¹¹ See discussion of the different stages in the composition of the *Liber* in the introduction to *Book of Pontiffs*, ed. and tr. Raymond Davis (Liverpool, 2000), XIII.

schism. In contrast with the *Avellana*, however, *Liber pontificalis* emphasises a considerable role played by the Ostrogothic King Theoderic in the healing of the schism. According to the *Liber*, the legation sent by Pope Hormisdas to Emperor Anastasius in 514 occurred ‘on the advice of King Theoderic’.¹² Furthermore, the *Liber* claims that Hormisdas dispatched legates to the East in 519, once again, on the advice of the king, and that, soon after that, ‘Pope Hormisdas betook himself to King Theoderic at Ravenna, and on his advice sent his warrant to Justin’ for sealing the negotiations regarding reconciliation.¹³ In R. McKitterick’s words, ‘this is an unequivocal statement of the supreme authority now in Ravenna, and the relationship of the Ostrogothic kingdom, as well as the papal see, to the former Roman empire.’¹⁴

In contrast with this account from *Liber pontificalis*, the *Avellana* preserves only four passing and inconsequential references to Theoderic. These references are all in letters dated to the pontificate of Hormisdas, and none of them posits influence from the Ostrogothic king on the pope’s actions.¹⁵ Moreover, none of these four references occur in letters of Hormisdas himself – three are in imperial letters from Constantinople and one is in a letter sent by the Roman senate to emperor Anastasius. As likely as it is that there existed epistolary exchanges between King Theoderic and Pope Hormisdas or the King and the imperial court in Constantinople, the *Avellana* leaves all these exchanges out of its narrative. Since there is no reason to suspect the claims in *Liber pontificalis* of being pure fiction (for later popes, beginning with John I, Hormisdas’ successor, *Liber pontificalis* itself shows criticism of the Ostrogothic government by referring to Theoderic as *haereticus*, thus converging with the narrative of the *Avellana*), it seems that the *Avellana* purposely excised the Ostrogoths from its narrative.

In connection to this, one can also note the lack of letters from the period 496–514, and especially from the papacy of Symmachus (498–514). This was the time when Theoderic became more actively involved in Church affairs, particularly on the occasion of the Laurentian schism. The *Collectio Avellana*, despite its strong interest in ecclesiastical conflict and conflict resolution, leaves out the Laurentian schism entirely. Moreover, only one letter of Pope Symmachus is preserved in the *Avellana* (letter 104, sent in 512 or 513). Given Symmachus’ strong claims of papal independence and power, similar to those of Gelasius, which would have suited the context of the *Avellana*, this situation is surprising. However, since Pope Symmachus won his fight against Laurentius in a contested papal election through the support of King Theoderic, his slim presence in the *Avellana* is probably due to the same narrative plan of editing out Ostrogothic influence on the Church and, perhaps, more generally, Ostrogothic power altogether. As a result of this

¹² *Liber pontificalis*, Hormisdas 2, 46.

¹³ *Liber pontificalis*, Hormisdas 5 and 8, 46–7.

¹⁴ R. McKitterick, ‘Roman texts’ (n. 4), 27.

¹⁵ *Collectio Avellana* 113.3, 507; 114.1, 508; 147.5, 593; 199.2, 658.

omission, the popes, and especially Pope Hormisdas, appear as de facto rulers of the West in the early sixth century.

An investigation of the remainder of the collection is necessary to verify if this ‘fashioning spirit’ of the *Avellana* can be discerned in other parts of the collection, particularly in the material dated to 367–419. Before examining this earlier material, however, a few words must be said about the *terminus post quem* of the *Avellana*, as further support for the suggestion of stronger thematic cohesion.

Letters 82–93: A Later Addition to the *Avellana*

A major challenge to attributing a unified discourse to the *Avellana* comes from the difficulty of assessing the status of letters 82–93 in the collection. Dating to the years 534–53, they break the chronological flow of the collection, being placed in the middle of the correspondence of Pope Gelasius. Despite this broken chronology, which suggests an interpolation, and despite a suspicious lack of letters from the period 521–34, which leaves letters 82–93 even more disconnected from the rest of the collection, there is a long trend of scholarship assigning these letters to the initial compilation of the *Avellana*. Thus O. Günther believed that the collection was put together after 553,¹⁶ and this view has remained practically unchallenged in recent scholarship. The problems that come with this view were tackled by a few scholars, but never convincingly elucidated. In 1997, P. Amory saw the lack of letters from the period 521–34 in the *Avellana* as potentially problematic, but explained that this lack of material is understandable because popes Felix IV and Boniface II ‘did not address broader issues’¹⁷ of papal politics, in which the *Avellana* was primarily interested. One should not forget, however, that, were it not for the *Avellana*, we would have perhaps said as much about Pope Hormisdas, since very few of his letters preserved in the *Avellana* are attested elsewhere. In a study published in 2007, K. Blair-Dixon cited Amory’s view, adding in support of it that the manner in which letters 82–93 depict the papacy is consistent with the *Avellana*’s discursive framework of papal independence from imperial interference.¹⁸ Following this argument, the compiler of the *Avellana* deliberately chose to include 82–93, just as he deliberately chose to exclude the period 521–34. More convincingly, E. Wirbelauer (1993) and D. Jasper (2001) have seen the awkward location of these letters in the collection as a clear sign of a later reworking, and have therefore argued that the collection was compiled

¹⁶ O. Günther, ‘Prolegomena’, II; O. Günther, ‘Avellana-Studien’, in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 134/5 (Vienna, 1896), 2.

¹⁷ P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy, 489–554* (Cambridge, 1997), 221.

¹⁸ K. Blair-Dixon, ‘Memory and Authority’, 64–5 and 60–70.

soon after 521.¹⁹ Further support for counting letters 82–93 as a later reworking of an already existing collection comes, I believe, from the highly coherent, vision-driven construction of the core of this collection, letters 51–81 and 94–243, covering the period from 460 to 521, which I addressed in the previous part of this chapter. Letters 51–81 and 94–243 tell a story; breaking the narrative, as well as the chronological flow, letters 82–93 must be considered a later addition, thus leaving us with 521 as *terminus post quem*.

The Material of Damasus/Ursinus and Boniface/Eulalius: A Recontextualisation

The real challenge in formulating a unified interpretation for the *Avellana* and redeeming it from a lingering aura of idiosyncrasy comes from the earlier material in the collection, particularly that connected to the schisms of Damasus/Ursinus (covering the years 367–86) and Boniface/Eulalius (418–19). In light of the weight given to the Acacian schism and the healing of this schism later in the collection, the presence of these letters in the *Avellana* could be explained by a more general interest in schism and resolution of schism.²⁰ But this explanation does not fully solve – and to some extent even complicates – the problem of thematic cohesion. Indeed, given the treatment of the schism of Damasus and Ursinus in the *Avellana*, where Damasus is depicted as a man without any consideration for the well-being of the Church and a murderous villain, this section seems to exacerbate thematic dissonance, straying from the image of a strong, unchallengeable papacy that emerges from the core of the collection (letters 51–243).

¹⁹ E. Wirbelauer, *Zwei Päpste in Rom: Der Konflikt zwischen Laurentius und Symmachus (498–514): Studien und Texte* (Munich, 1993), 138; D. Jasper, ‘The Beginning of the Decretal Tradition’, in D. Jasper and H. Fuhrmann, eds, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, 2001), 3–134, here 84–5; P. Blaudeau, *Le Siège de Rome et l’Orient: étude géo-ecclésiologique* (Rome, 2012), 44, has proposed a slightly later dating, around 535.

²⁰ K. Blair-Dixon, ‘Memory and Authority’, 70, suggested that the *Collectio Avellana* offers a new ‘rhetoric of schism’, representing ‘the decision of Roman churchmen operating in the generation after the Laurentian schism to move towards less divisive techniques of memory’ (76). Blair-Dixon recognised, however, the difficulty of integrating letters 1 and 2 of the *Avellana* in this interpretation, since they are essentially pro-schismatic texts (70). E. Wirbelauer, *Zwei Päpste in Rom*, 134–7, sees sections 1 and 2 of the *Avellana* (letters 1–40) as pro-Laurentian compilations produced at the end of the Laurentian schism (a contextualisation first proposed by O. Günther), when Laurentius had already been defeated (the image of a ruthless Damasus defeating Ursinus with the help of the emperor mirroring the image of Laurentius being defeated by Symmachus with the support of Theoderic); Wirbelauer did not pursue this argument into a discussion of the role of these two sections in the wider thematic context of the *Avellana*.

As far as letters 14–37 on the schism of Boniface and Eulalius are concerned, the vague connection to the rest of the collection through common interest in schism and papal-imperial relations is, once again, unsatisfactory. Furthermore, this weak connection is outweighed by the theme of radical imperial intervention in settling this ecclesiastical conflict, a theme which features prominently in letters 14–37, and which goes against the *Avellana*'s central commitment to presenting an independent papacy which, through carefully considered moves, defines the boundaries of appropriate imperial intervention in Church affairs.

The Section on Damasus and Ursinus

Given the portrayal of the papacy in letters 1–37, radically discordant with the portrayal of the papacy starting in the letters of Pope Leo I (51–55) and culminating in the letters of Hormisdas (105–243), it is difficult to interpret this material as integral to an overall ethos of the *Avellana*. In the case of Pope Damasus, the interpretation is further complicated by the *Avellana*'s choice to make Damasus into a murderous villain when it could have actually used a pope of established authority as a substantial stepping stone in its story of papal success and independence.

Addressing the puzzling presentation of Damasus in the *Avellana*, especially in letters 1 and 2, K. Blair-Dixon recognised the importance of trying to integrate this earlier material in the discourse of the collection and argued that the negative light in which Damasus is presented in the *Avellana* is due to the fact that he was 'too well connected to the emperor' and 'depended too greatly on the emperor's intervention'.²¹ This explanation goes a certain distance toward incorporating letters 1–13 into the thematic unity of the *Avellana*, but is based on a supposition that is not supported by the *Avellana* material: namely that the image of Damasus, in and of itself, is of central interest to the compiler of the *Avellana*.

The opening sentences of the *Avellana*, part of what has recently been compellingly described by Blair-Dixon as an early sixth-century document,²² commonly referred to as the *praefatio*, represent the point of entry into the collection and thus deserve attention:

At the time of Emperor Constantius, the son of Constantine, a most fierce persecution of Christians was started by the impious Arian heretics, with Constantius' approval, the same who persecuted Athanasius the bishop when he opposed the heretics and [the same who] ordered that he be condemned by all the bishops. Fear of the emperor had forced bishops everywhere into doing this, condemning an innocent person without a chance for defense. But Liberius the

²¹ K. Blair-Dixon, 'Memory and Authority', 73.

²² See arguments in K. Blair-Dixon, 'Memory and Authority', 70–72.

bishop of Rome and Eusebius of Vercelli, and Lucifer of Cagliari, and Hilary of Poitiers refused to assent to this condemnation. They were sent into exile because they protected the [true] faith.²³

Damasus, Liberius' deacon, as the preface continues the story, put on an appearance of support for Liberius at first, but abandoned him on the road to exile and then returned to Rome corrupted by ambition. For the sixth-century author of this *praefatio*, criticism against Damasus originates in what is perceived as inadequate support from this pope for the promoters of the orthodox faith against the Arians. The long excursus on his unscrupulous fight against and defeat of Ursinus is only secondary. The fact that the *praefatio* is not a distinctly pro-Ursinian text reinforces the idea that the conflict between Damasus and Ursinus, in itself, is not a primary point of interest.

Furthermore, the second letter in the collection, a petition sent in 383 or 384 by the priests Marcellinus and Faustinus to emperors Valentinian, Theodosius and Arcadius,²⁴ brings additional support to the argument that the personal denigration of Damasus does not occupy a central place in the first section of the *Avellana*. This petition is predominantly concerned with exiled Nicene bishops, many of them martyred by their Arian persecutors. The emperors, exhorted to lend their support to these exiled bishops, granted a positive response to this petition (letter 2a).²⁵ This exchange contains hardly any mention of Damasus or Ursinus.²⁶

Moreover, counterbalancing the negative presentation of Damasus in the *praefatio*, a number of subsequent imperial letters also paint a negative image of Ursinus as fomenting unrest.²⁷ Characterising this part of the collection as pro-Ursinian and anti-Damasan propaganda²⁸ is not supported by the evidence, as well as misleading, and creates a thematic gap between this material and the rest of the collection.

The primary thematic focus of this part of the collection comes from the discussion of orthodoxy versus Arianism and the victory of orthodoxy over Arianism through imperial support. This section thus contributes to the *Avellana* sharp and straightforward criticism of Arianism, and, it can be argued, more direct criticism of the Ostrogoths than the later material. Seen in this light, the material on Damasus/Ursinus strengthens the thematic unity of the *Avellana*.

²³ *Collectio Avellana* 1.1-2, 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 2, 5-44.

²⁵ *Collectio Avellana* 2a, 45-6.

²⁶ See discussion of this in O. Günther, 'Avellana Studien', 8.

²⁷ See *Avellana* letters 11-13 (52-8).

²⁸ K. Blair-Dixon, 'Memory and Authority', 70-73, interprets the first part of the *Avellana* through this lens.

The Section on Boniface and Eulalius

Letters 14–37 deal with the schism that followed the papal elections of 418, involving Boniface and Eulalius. The letters included in this section of the collection emphasise the crucial role played by Symmachus, the prefect of Rome, and, more importantly, by Emperor Honorius. The presence of these letters in the *Avellana* can, once again, be explained by the general interest taken by the collection in schisms. But, in light of the anti-Arian/anti-Ostrogothic outlook of the *Avellana*, the inclusion of these letters could in fact be of greater significance. An orthodox emperor (here, Honorius) has the right and the duty to intervene in ecclesiastical matters in situations of crisis; an Arian sixth-century king, as the material on Hormisdas seems to suggest, does not. Very significantly here, the orthodox Honorius resides in Ravenna, the fifth- and sixth-century capital of the Ostrogothic government. The inclusion of the letters on Boniface and Eulalius can be construed as a subtle way of challenging the legitimacy of the Ostrogothic regime and, it can be argued, its intervention in Church affairs.

Conclusion

Thus an overarching narrative of the *Avellana* can be extended to encompass not only the affirmation of papal independence through a long line of popes with excellent diplomatic skills and in charge of defining the relationship between the papacy and imperial power, but also the overwriting of Ostrogothic influence, an act of historical reconstruction manifested in the collection as an anti-Arian bias, as well as a lack of references to Ostrogothic participation in ecclesiastical affairs.

The interesting and important question to be asked at this point is which particular situation in the 520s could have given rise to the anti-Ostrogothic feeling contained in the *Avellana*. The fate of Pope John I, Hormisdas' successor, who died in prison in Ravenna in 526, one among many to have suffered persecution by the order of Theoderic in the 520s, can certainly form the background for the compiling of the *Avellana*. Interestingly, it is in Pope John's biography that the *Liber pontificalis* refers to the Ostrogothic ruler as a heretic for the first time.²⁹ Commenting on this stray reference, Amory noted: 'It is surprising that the death of John I did not have more immediate consequences in changing recorded attitudes toward the monarchy.'³⁰ In light of my re-interpretation, the *Collectio Avellana* may well be a record of reactions to the death of Pope John. It could also have been a response to the ordination of his successor, Felix IV, who became pope through the intervention of Theoderic at the end of a conflict over papal

²⁹ *Book of Pontiffs*, John I 6, 49.

³⁰ P. Amory, *People and Identity*, 220.

elections in the aftermath of Pope John's death.³¹ Finally, the *Avellana* could be responding to the contested episcopal elections after the death of Felix IV in 530, when Felix's own candidate, Boniface II, was challenged by the more popular Dioscorus (it would be more difficult, however, to establish this last development as the background to the *Avellana* because no clear connections are drawn in the sources between either Boniface II or Dioscorus and Ostrogothic support or opposition). While it may prove impossible to establish with certainty which of these specific moments of conflict bears a direct connection to the *Avellana*, giving it the narrative vantage point identified in this chapter, it is nonetheless important to conclude that the *Avellana* offers a thematically coherent perspective on political order in the early sixth century, one from which the Ostrogoths have been subtly, but determinedly, eliminated.

³¹ See Athalaric's letter to the Senate in Cassiodorus' *Variae* VIII.15 (in S.J.B. Barnish, tr., *The Variae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, TTH, vol.12 [Liverpool, 1992], 105). Athalaric mentions that Felix, the papal candidate supported by Theoderic, met opposition, but was finally installed in the see of Rome, having defeated his rival.

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Chapter 8

Éléments apologétiques chez Victor de Vita : exemple d'un genre littéraire en transition

Éric Fournier

Les dernières années ont vu se multiplier les travaux sur l'Afrique du Nord dans l'antiquité tardive et sur la période vandale en particulier. Ces travaux sont marqués par un renouveau d'intérêt pour une source quelque peu négligée jusque-là, les poèmes d'époque vandale contenus dans l'*Anthologie Latine*, de même que par un intérêt croissant pour la source principale de nos connaissances pour la première moitié du siècle vandale, Victor de Vita.¹ Il est donc un peu surprenant de constater que, malgré son importance capitale pour ce pan de l'histoire de l'antiquité tardive, le texte de Victor semble souffrir d'un manque de discussion méthodologique et de critique interne afin d'établir le degré de crédibilité à lui accorder.² On remarque plutôt une certaine réticence à être trop critique face au texte de Victor, peut-être parce que cela mènerait à un bilan très maigre d'information bien attestée pour cette période. Ce manque de critique se manifeste également par le mouvement inverse, la critique exagérée (et parfois même injuste ou non fondée) d'un des seuls ouvrages à avoir attaqué ce problème de front, le petit livre de Christian Courtois sur *Victor de Vita et son œuvre*.³ La présente contribution fait d'ailleurs partie d'un plus large projet qui vise à mettre à jour l'étude de Courtois et à présenter une étude littéraire critique du texte de Victor.⁴

Cette contribution porte donc sur le genre littéraire de l'*Historia Persecutionis*, pour soutenir qu'il s'agit en fait d'un texte hybride qui présente des caractéristiques de trois genres littéraires distincts : historiographie, hagiographie et apologie.

¹ A.H. Merrills, ed., *Vandals, Romans and Berbers. New Perspectives on Late Antique North Africa* (Burlington, VT, 2004) ; R. Miles, 'The *Anthologia Latina* and the Creation of Secular Space in Vandal Carthage', *AnTard* 13 (2005) : 305–20 ; G. Berndt, *Konflikt und Anpassung. Studien zu Migration und Ethnogenese der Vandalen* (Husum, 2007) ; G. Berndt et R. Steinacher, eds, *Das Reich der Vandalen und seine (vor-)Geschichten* (Vienne, 2008) ; A.H. Merrills et R. Miles, *The Vandals* (Malden, MA, 2010) ; J. Conant, *Staying Roman. Conquest and Identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439–700* (Cambridge, 2012).

² Texte et traduction : S. Lancel, ed., *Victor de Vita. Histoire de la persécution vandale en Afrique* (Paris, 2002).

³ C. Courtois, *Victor de Vita et son œuvre. Étude Critique* (Alger, 1954). Critique : Lancel, *Victor*, 29–30.

⁴ Cf. É. Fournier, *Victor of Vita and the Vandal 'Persecution': Interpreting Exile in Late Antiquity* (diss. University of California, Santa Barbara, 2008).

Outre l'élément historiographique, qui va de soi, la plupart des commentateurs précédents ont surtout insisté – et justement – sur l'influence de l'hagiographie.⁵ Mais l'apport du genre apologétique semble avoir été négligé jusqu'ici. Cet apport fera donc l'objet de la présente analyse, suivant une remarque de Courtois, selon lequel Victor avait considéré l'histoire 'comme un instrument d'idée [et qu'il] a choisi les faits qu'il rapporte *en fonction de leur puissance apologétique*'.⁶ Le sujet nous fera également toucher à deux autres questions, celle du public visé par le texte de Victor, de même que celle de son but en rédigeant son *Histoire*. Sur ces questions, la perspective traditionnelle soutient que Victor avait rédigé son manifeste dans le but de convaincre la cour de Constantinople d'intervenir afin de protéger l'église nicéenne.⁷ À cet égard, des travaux récents, comme en particulier l'article de Danuta Shanzer, ont contribué à changer cette perspective en insistant, avec justesse, sur le caractère local de son auditoire.⁸ Par ailleurs, plusieurs auteurs rejettent la vision polarisée de la société vandale dépeinte par Victor et insistent plutôt pour dire que les caractéristiques identitaires 'Romain' et 'Vandale' étaient floues et que les frontières entre les différentes identités concernées étaient malléables et souvent traversées.⁹ Dans cette optique, le texte de Victor était une réaction face aux incertitudes engendrées par cette situation, trop relative et incertaine à son goût ; il avait pour but spécifique d'ériger des frontières rigides entre les catégories 'Romain' et 'barbare', qui deviennent synonymes de 'Catholique' et 'hérétique Arien' sous sa plume afin de ranimer le zèle de ses coreligionnaires et d'éviter qu'ils ne deviennent trop dociles face aux cajoleries des Vandales.¹⁰

⁵ Courtois, *Victor*, 75–86 ; Lancel, *Victor*, 50–54 ; D. Shanzer, 'Intentions and Audiences : History, Hagiography, Martyrdom, and Confession in Victor of Vita's *Historia Persecutionis*', in Merrills, ed., *Vandals, Romans and Berbers*, 271–90, part. 278–90.

⁶ Courtois, *Victor*, 65 (italique ajouté). L'invective est sans aucun doute un autre élément important du style littéraire de Victor. Il m'est malheureusement impossible de développer l'analyse de cet aspect dans le cadre du présent chapitre. Je remercie cependant Danuta Shanzer de m'avoir rappelé son importance.

⁷ Courtois, *Victor*, 18, 76–7 ; Lancel, *Victor*, 12–14.

⁸ Shanzer, 'Intentions and Audiences' et Merrills-Miles, *Vandals*, 186–7 (et références).

⁹ Shanzer, 'Intentions and Audiences', 287 ; Merrills-Miles, *Vandals*, 83–108 ; Conant, *Staying Roman*, 130–95.

¹⁰ S. Costanza, "Uuandali-Arriani" e "Romani-Catholici" nella *Historia persecutionis Africanæ provinciae* di Vittore di Vita. Una controversia per l'uso del latino nel concilio cartaginois del 484', in *Oikoumene : Studi paleocristiani pubblicati in onore del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II* (Catania, 1964), 223–41. Tentative d'ériger des frontières identitaires rigides : Conant, *Staying Roman*, 142 : 'And, indeed, this [politique d'assimilation des Romano-Africains aux Vandales par incitation matérielle] is in part precisely what the polemic of Victor of Vita seems to have tried to prevent' ; Merrills-Miles, *Vandals*, 187 ; Fournier, *Victor of Vita*, 205–11.

Le mouvement apologétique a traditionnellement été vu comme florissant aux II^e et III^e siècles, s'érigeant en défense d'une religion attaquée et persécutée par l'État romain.¹¹ C'est ce qui a fait écrire à Clifford Ando que 'The conversion of the emperor of the Roman world had marked in one fashion the end of an era in Christian literature : martyr-acts and apologetic, two major genres, had no place in a Christian empire. Apologetic arises from its author's minority status and position of relative weakness in his political context.'¹² Ici aussi, les travaux récents, le livre édité par Edwards, Goodman et Price ainsi qu'un article très influent d'Averil Cameron en particulier, ont changé la perspective traditionnelle de façon importante.¹³ En premier lieu, ces auteurs ont insisté pour élargir le cadre chronologique associé au genre apologétique au-delà de la soi-disant 'révolution constantinienne'.¹⁴ D'autre part, Cameron s'est fait le fer-de-lance d'une nouvelle perspective qui voit l'apologétique moins comme un genre littéraire au sens strict qu'une façon de penser ('mode of thinking'), une méthode, une stratégie, un ton et un mode d'écriture.

Pour Cameron, 'les caractéristiques du genre apologétique se retrouvent dans d'autres « genres », tels que l'histoire et les chroniques', 'la méthode apologétique, qui représente un type d'argument, peut se trouver dans une variété de formes littéraires'.¹⁵ Elle donne la *Vie de Constantin* et l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* d'Eusèbe comme exemples de textes apologétiques.¹⁶ La fonction de ces textes 'aurait à voir avec une recherche d'identité et de définition du groupe', ce qui crée souvent des

¹¹ R.A. Norris, Jr. 'The Apologists', in F. Young, L. Ayres, et A. Louth, eds, *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge, 2004), 36–44 ; R.M. Grant, *Greek Apologists of the Second Century* (Philadelphie, 1988) ; M. Edwards, M. Goodman et S. Price, eds, *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (Oxford, 1999) ; A. Wlosok et F. Paschoud, eds, *L'apologétique chrétienne gréco-latine à l'époque prénicénienne*, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, 51 (Genève, 2005). Voir W.H.C. Frend, 'Some North African Turning Points in Christian Apologetics', *JEH* 57.1 (2006) : 1–15, pour la tradition africaine en particulier.

¹² C. Ando, 'Pagan Apologetics and Christian Intolerance in the Ages of Themistius and Augustine', *JECS* 4.2 (1996) : 171–207, à 174.

¹³ A. Cameron, 'Apologetics in the Roman Empire – A Genre of Intolerance?' in J.-M. Carrié et Lizzi Testa, eds, *Humana Sapit. Études d'Antiquité Tardive offertes à Lellia Cracco Ruggini* (Turnhout, 2002), 219–27. Cf. J.-C. Fredouille, 'L'apologétique chrétienne antique : naissance d'un genre littéraire', *REAug* 38 (1992) : 219–34 ; *idem*, 'L'apologétique chrétienne antique : métamorphoses d'un genre polymorphe', *REAug* 41 (1995) : 201–16.

¹⁴ A. Klostergaard Petersen, 'The Diversity of Apologetics: From Genre to a Mode of Thinking', in D. Brakke, A.-C. Jacobsen, et J. Ulrich, eds, *Critique and Apologetics. Jews, Christians and Pagans in Antiquity* (Frankfurt, 2009), 15–41, à 24.

¹⁵ Cameron, 'Apologetics in the Roman Empire', 220 et 221.

¹⁶ Cameron, 'Apologetics in the Roman Empire', 222.

oppositions binaires, et particulièrement dans un contexte de persécution ou de crise.¹⁷ Elle écrit :

Apologetic writings, while ostensibly defensive and even conciliatory, served to sharpen and perpetuate, and indeed to *create*, a view of a religious world divided into 'us' and 'them', into correct belief and false belief. In Bourdieu's terms, differentiation and categorization (which are the modalities of apologetics) are fundamental mechanisms by which society is itself regulated. So apologetic has an important function, not just to sustain but also to create a world of belief.¹⁸

Chacune de ces remarques semble parfaitement décrire le texte de Victor, et le contexte de persécution semble particulièrement frappant. On pourrait également y ajouter la conclusion de Jacobsen, pour qui les textes apologétiques fixent les identités fluides pour mieux les attaquer.¹⁹ Le rapprochement entre la conclusion de Jacobsen, l'historiographie récente de l'Afrique vandale qui dépeint justement une telle situation d'identités fluides, et le texte de Victor qui érige des identités rigides afin de les attaquer, est frappant et justifie la présente approche.

C'est dans ce double contexte historiographique qu'il semble approprié de situer la présente contribution, qui vise à appliquer les conclusions de ces nouvelles études du mode d'écriture apologétique et de l'Afrique vandale au texte de Victor. Le but visé est double : d'une part, amorcer une réponse à l'appel de Cameron et autres d'élargir cette nouvelle vision de la littérature apologétique à un éventail de textes plus large et au-delà des limites chronologiques traditionnellement associées à ce genre littéraire ; d'autre part, effectuer une critique textuelle plus approfondie de l'*Historia Persecutionis*, afin de mieux comprendre les buts et les techniques de l'auteur. En définitive, cette critique du texte permettra, je l'espère, une utilisation plus nuancée du texte de Victor par les historiens de l'Antiquité tardive.

¹⁷ Cameron, 'Apologetics in the Roman Empire', 223. Cf. K. Pollmann, 'Nullus quippe credit aliquid, nisi prius cogitauerit esse credendum : Augustine as Apologist', in Brakke, Jacobsen et Ulrich, eds, *Critique and Apologetics*, 303–27, à 304 : 'the methods (maybe more than many of the specific arguments) used by apologetic writers remained relevant in all sorts of circumstances and contexts, especially when there was a sense of facing a *crisis*' (emphase originale) et 325: 'Apologetics is particularly needed in times of transition and change, in (perceived or actual) crisis and conflict, where the intellectual preoccupation is more with history than with metaphysics.'

¹⁸ Cameron, 'Apologetics in the Roman Empire', 223. Cf. Klostergaard Petersen, 'The Diversity of Apologetics', 16 : 'apologetic writings are to an equal extent a matter of creating the cultural lines of demarcation that are far from evident in the social world of their authors.'

¹⁹ A.-C. Jacobsen, 'Apologetics and Apologies – Some Definitions', in J. Ulrich, A.-C. Jacobsen et M. Kahlos, eds, *Continuity and Discontinuity in Early Christian Apologetics* (Frankfort, 2009), 5–21, à 9.

Le premier élément apologétique qui saute aux yeux dans l'*Historia* est la longue liste de passages hagiographiques.²⁰ Et même s'il est bien établi que Victor avait une conception assez élastique du martyre, puisqu'il présente souvent comme martyrs ceux qui, techniquement, sont des confesseurs, il n'en demeure pas moins que ces nombreux passages servent tous le même but, c'est-à-dire de galvaniser les troupes nicéennes face à ce qu'il considère comme un assaut à l'encontre de la vraie foi.²¹ Ces passages sont donc apologétiques dans le sens où ils visent à défendre la communauté nicéenne en fournissant des exemples de conduite à suivre face à l'ennemi. En effet, martyrs et confesseurs, chez Victor, suivent généralement le même modèle : ils résistent aux pressions visant à les convertir, en particulier l'offre d'avantages temporels, souvent avec l'aide du Seigneur et de miracles, ce qui valide leur foi comme catholique.²²

Le meilleur exemple de cette caractéristique est l'histoire de deux frères qui furent torturés dans la ville de Thambeae et qui avaient juré de recevoir exactement les mêmes supplices.²³ L'un d'eux s'écria : 'Exposez les chrétiens aux supplices que vous voudrez et soumettez-les à des tourments cruels : ce que mon frère fera, je le ferai moi aussi!'²⁴ Mais parce que les tortures cruelles ne laissaient aucune marque sur ces hommes, les bourreaux s'exclamèrent : 'Le peuple tout entier les imite, en sorte qu'absolument personne ne se convertit à notre religion.'²⁵ Les paroles du premier confesseur, en décrivant les victimes comme chrétiens ('*christianos*'), les opposent aux Vandales qui, implicitement, sont présentés comme non-chrétiens. Voilà bien une stratégie qui vise à fixer l'identité des groupes concernés afin d'attaquer l'orthodoxie, et même le statut de chrétien, des Vandales. D'autant plus qu'il s'agit fort probablement d'un emprunt intertextuel visant à déployer le présent comme une répétition des persécutions passées.²⁶ De plus, la fermeté des confesseurs dans leur foi, face à la torture, sert d'exemple à suivre, ce que

²⁰ *Historia Persecutionis Africanae Provinciae* [ci-après HP] 1.34-8, 41-2, 43-50, 2.9-11, 24-5, 28-38, 45, 47-52, 3.21-30, 34-7, 37-54.

²¹ Shanzer, 'Intentions and Audiences', 280-85.

²² Pressions à se convertir : *Quodvultdeus, De temp. barb.* I.8.7 (*non uos separent a Christo terrena promittendo*) ; *Liber prom. et praed. Dei*, Dim. Temp. 5.7 (*Arrianos quos nunc uidemus multos seducere aut potentia temporalis*) ; HP 3.48, 60.

²³ HP 3.28 : *Apud Tambaiansem ... Vbi duo germani Aquisregiensis ciuitatis sibi securi de domino inuicem iurauerunt ut rogarent tortores ut una poena parique supplicio torquerentur* (Lancel, 189).

²⁴ HP 3.28 : « *Adigite suppliciiis quibus uultis et poenis christianos arte crudelibus : quod frater meus facturus est, hoc etiam ego* » (Lancel, 190).

²⁵ HP 3.28 : « *Istos imitatur uniuersus populus, ut nullus ad nostram religionem penitus conuertatur* » (Lancel, 190).

²⁶ Non seulement le '*christianos*' renvoie-t-il à ce contexte des persécutions passées infligées par les empereurs 'païens' (voir, *inter alia*, Tert., *Apol.* 2 : '*Christianus sum*' et *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 6 : '*Christiana sum*'), mais Victor introduit aussi l'interjection du frère en indiquant bien la *passion* à venir : *Ista dicens et alia multa confortauit germanum ad praelium passionis* (Lancel, 190). Cf. B.D. Shaw, *Sacred*

les bourreaux notent. Ce passage apologétique crée donc une réalité désirée par l'auteur, c'est-à-dire un univers où seuls les Nicéens sont chrétiens, où la pression exercée par les Vandales n'a aucun effet et où tous les Nicéens demeurent fermes dans leur foi en refusant de se convertir à la religion vandale. Mais comme le caractère hagiographique de l'œuvre a déjà été noté à maintes reprises, il importe davantage de souligner le caractère apologétique d'autres passages qui ont moins retenu l'attention des chercheurs jusqu'ici.

Le premier de ces passages (1.36) met en scène des esclaves nicéens en fuite qui, une fois capturés, sont envoyés en exil chez les Maures.²⁷ Victor insiste surtout sur leur prosélytisme, puisque les exilés Nicéens parvinrent apparemment à convertir des Maures à leur religion.²⁸ Cet exemple démontre bien, pour Victor, le pouvoir de la vraie foi, par comparaison à l'impiété des Vandales, qui ont exilé les Nicéens sans reconnaître leur erreur. Par ailleurs, Victor précise également que les Maures sont des 'barbares', comparant implicitement ces bons barbares, qui reconnaissent la vérité et se convertissent, aux mauvais barbares que constituent les vandales.²⁹

Plus tard, au début de ce que Victor considère comme la persécution de Geiséric, le roi envoie un certain Proculus en province proconsulaire pour confisquer les livres saints et les objets de culte (une répétition de la 'Grande Persécution' de Dioclétien).³⁰ Ce qui importe ici est le commentaire qu'insère Victor au sujet des Nicéens : cette confiscation avait pour but de 'les priver de leurs armes [...] pour qu'ainsi le rusé Ennemi puisse facilement les faire prisonniers.'³¹ Si l'on suit Lancel en entendant '*hostis callidus*' comme une allusion au Diable, comme d'autres passages le font plus explicitement, alors le but apologétique de Victor devient évident, c'est-à-dire que les temps présents sont un combat mettant aux prises les serviteurs de Dieu (les Nicéens) aux serviteurs du Diable (les Vandales). Cette interprétation semble d'ailleurs confirmée par deux autres passages similaires : d'abord 2.24, où Victor attribue l'intention persécutrice du roi au Diable, alors que

Violence. African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine (Cambridge, 2011), 908, s.v. 'Persecution, "Great".'

²⁷ Sur le contexte général de cet épisode, voir Y. Modéran, *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine (IV^e–VII^e siècle)* (Rome, 2003), 541–64 ; J.-P. Laporte, 'Les Vandales, l'Afrique et les Maures', in X. Delestre, P. Périn et M. Kazanski, eds, *La Méditerranée et le monde mérovingien : témoins archéologiques*, Bulletin Archéologique de Provence, Supplément 3 (Aix-en-Provence, 2005), 271–80.

²⁸ HP 1.36 : *et tali modo ingentem multitudinem gentilium barbarorum Christo domino lucraverunt* (Lancel, 113).

²⁹ HP 1.36 : *gentilium barbarorum* (Lancel, 113).

³⁰ Déjà noté par Lancel, *Victor*, 292, n. 87. Cf. R. Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy* (Édinbourg, 2004), 62, 108 (Lactance), 120 (Eusèbe). Voir s.v. 'Proculus 4', in A. Mandouze, ed., *PCBE I* (Paris, 1982), 927.

³¹ HP 1.39 : *ut primo armis nudaret et ita facilius inermes hostis callidus captiuasset* (Lancel, 115).

le Christ protège ses fidèles, l'église nicéenne.³² Ensuite 2.37, où Victor spécifie que le Christ protège ses serviteurs, et donc que, même si les évêques nicéens furent envoyés en exil dans le désert, aucun d'eux n'a été piqué par un scorpion.³³ Je ne saurais trouver d'autre fonction qu'apologétique à ce détail qui, franchement, n'ajoute absolument rien d'important à l'*Historia* de Victor, sinon de réitérer que les prêtres nicéens sont les ministres de la foi unique.³⁴

Le second livre s'ouvre, étonnement, avec un éloge du règne d'Huniric, et particulièrement pour son zèle à persécuter les Manichéens.³⁵ La véritable intention de Victor transparaît cependant dans la suite, alors qu'il spécifie que la plupart de ces hérétiques étaient en fait des diacres et des prêtres de l'église vandale.³⁶ Ce faux éloge masque son attaque contre les clercs homéens et renforce, encore une fois, l'opposition binaire orthodoxe-hérétique, en y ajoutant le soupçon additionnel de la pire hérésie concevable, que même Dioclétien ne pouvait tolérer.³⁷

Un passage souvent discuté pour les renseignements qu'il contient au sujet de l'identité des groupes en présence (2.8) précise que les évêques homéens suggérèrent au roi vandale d'empêcher Eugenius, le nouvel évêque nicéen de

³² HP 2.24 : *Sed hoc aedificium ubi construere nisus est diabolus, statim illud destruere dignatus est Christus* (Lancel, 132).

³³ HP 2.37 : *Reliqui habiliores ad solitudinis loca perueniunt, in quibus collocati hordeum ad uescendum ut iumenta accipiunt. Vbi etiam uenenatorum animalium atque scorpionum tanta esse dicitur multitudo ut ignorantibus incredibilis uideatur, quae solo flatu etiam in procul positos ueneni uirus infundant ; ab scorpii autem percussu nullum dicunt aliquando euasisse. Quorum feritas uirulenta usque ad praesens tempus Christo defendente nullum seruorum eius nocuisse docetur* (Lancel, 138–9).

³⁴ Cf. Courtois, *Victor*, 38–40, pour qui ce détail fait partie de ce que Victor a décrit avec justesse, le cadre géographique (à 40 : 'une connaissance et même une sensibilité véritable de l'Afrique, une exactitude pratiquement sans défaut'), par contraste avec sa description des événements relatifs à la persécution. Plus à-propos est le commentaire de M. Kahlos, 'The Rhetoric of Tolerance and Intolerance : From Lactantius to Firmicus Maternus', in Ulich, Jacobsen Kahlos, eds, *Continuity and Discontinuity*, 79–95, à 94–5 : 'Beneath the irenic teaching, there was the eristic line of thinking, claim for monopoly of truth, the demonization of rival communities and consequent hostility. [...] This attitude is the heritage of apologetics.'

³⁵ HP 2.1 : *Mortuo igitur Geiserico Huniricus maior filius patri succedit. Qui in primordia regni, ut habet subtilitas barbarorum, coepit mitius et moderatius agere [...] Et, ut se religiosum ostenderet, statuit sollicitius requirendos hereticos Manicheos : ex quibus multos incendit, plurimos autem distraxit nauibus transmarinis* (Lancel, 122).

³⁶ HP 2.1 : *Quos paene omnes Manicheos suae religionis inuenit et praecipue presbyteros et diaconos Arrianae hereseos ; unde magis erubescens amplius in illis exarsit* (Lancel, 122).

³⁷ Le contexte dans lequel s'inscrit cet épisode est clairement exposé par A.H. Merrills, 'The Secret of my Succession : Dynasty and Crisis in Vandal North Africa', *EME* 18.2 (2010) : 135–59. Sur les oppositions binaires, la vision polarisée et totalisante du monde déployée par les auteurs chrétiens, voir A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire. The Development of Christian Discourse* (Berkeley, 1991).

Carthage à ce moment (à l'été 478 ou 479³⁸), de prêcher aux siens s'ils étaient vêtus du costume vandale.³⁹ Victor concède que de nombreux Nicéens travaillaient alors au palais royal et devaient donc porter le costume vandale, sans préciser ce que ces vêtements avaient de particulier.⁴⁰ Ce qui est intéressant, dans le cas présent, est que Victor parvient à renverser les rôles complètement : bien qu'il soit lui-même absolument opposé à ce genre d'imbrication entre les deux groupes qu'il travaillait si fort à ériger en opposés binaires, il présente le roi vandale comme étant celui qui, à l'instigation des évêques homéens, interdit cette transgression identitaire. À l'opposé, Eugenius répond au roi que 'La maison de Dieu est ouverte à tous ; nul ne pourra repousser ceux qui y entrent.'⁴¹ Loin, donc, de réprimander les Nicéens qui travaillent à la cour, le personnage littéraire d'Eugenius, et par le fait même Victor en tant qu'auteur, présente Huneric comme l'instigateur de cette transgression, puisqu'il tente de prévenir les fidèles de fréquenter l'église de la vraie foi.

La logique apologétique de Victor s'applique également au passage où il décrit le roi vandale s'attaquant à d'autres Vandales (afin de mettre en place son plan de succession). En effet, le roi s'attaqua à l'évêque Jucundus, et par le fait même brisa la promesse qu'il avait faite à son père.⁴² Ce détail est important, puisqu'il permet à Victor d'attaquer son ennemi de plus belle, en le dépeignant comme un souverain qui ne respecte rien, ni la religion, ni même sa parole, donnée à son propre père. Victor en rajoute même : ces victimes auraient été rangées au rang de martyrs,

³⁸ Selon la nouvelle datation proposée par R. Delmaire, 'La date de l'ambassade d'Alexander à Carthage et l'élection de l'évêque Eugenius', *REAug* 33 (1987) : 85–9, et acceptée par Y. Modéran, 'La *Notitia Provinciarum et Civitatum Africae* et l'histoire du royaume vandale', *AnTard* 14 (2006) : 165–85, à 168, n. 17. La source principale est *HP* 2.5 : *Quod edictum dum nobis praesentibus quarto decimo kalendarum Iuliarum uniuersae ecclesiae legeretur* (Lancel, 124). Dans sa note relative à ce passage, Lancel, *Victor*, 295, n. 123, a retenu la date traditionnelle du 18 juin 480. Cf. s.v. 'Eugenius 2', in *PCBE* I.362–5.

³⁹ *HP* 2.8 : *Arrianorum episcopo ... Suggestum regi ... deinde, quoscumque mares uel feminas in habitu barbaro incedentes in ecclesia conspiceret, prohiberet* (Lancel, 125). Costume vandale : P. von Rummel, 'Les Vandales ont-ils porté en Afrique un vêtement spécifique ?' in Delestre, Périn et Kazanski, eds, *La Méditerranée et le monde mérovingien*, 281–91 ; *idem*, *Habitus Barbarus. Kleidung und Repräsentation spätantiker Eliten im 4 und 5 Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2007) ; Merrills-Miles, *Vandals*, 102–6.

⁴⁰ *HP* 2.8 : *maxime quia ingens multitudo nostrorum catholicorum in habitu illorum incedentium, ob hoc quod domui regiae seruiebant* (Lancel, 125).

⁴¹ *HP* 2.8 : « *Domus dei omnibus patet, intrantes nullus poterit repellere* » (Lancel, 125).

⁴² *HP* 2.13 : *Adstante uulgo in media ciuitate pro gradibus plateae nouae episcopum suae religionis, nomine Iucundum, quem patriarcham uocitabant, praecepit incendio concremari, ob hoc quod in domo Theuderici germani regis acceptissimus habebatur ; 2.15 : Sed et multos ei Geisericus pater moriens sacramento interposito commendauerat, quos ille in memor fidei et sacramenti uiolator diuersis poenis et incendiis trucidauit* (Lancel, 127–8). Voir s.v. 'Iucundus', in *PCBE* I.611. Sur ces événements, voir Merrills, 'Secret of my Succession', 144–6.

si seulement elles avaient été de la bonne confession.⁴³ Quoiqu'il en soit, Victor atteint son but ici, en présentant Huniric comme un impie qui ne respecte même pas les dignitaires de sa foi.

Suivent ensuite une série de visions qui annoncent les persécutions plus sévères à venir (2.18–22).⁴⁴ D'abord une vision qui utilise la métaphore du bon grain et de l'ivraie, sans doute d'après Augustin.⁴⁵ Les plus spectaculaires sont les deux suivantes : un arbre énorme et fleuri garde l'Afrique entière sous son ombre protectrice, contre la chaleur brûlante du soleil ; mais soudain, un âne violent se frotte sur le tronc et fait tomber l'arbre et le détruit.⁴⁶ De même, un évêque (Quintianus) est sur une montagne, d'où il observe un troupeau de brebis immense, au milieu duquel il voit aussi deux grands chaudrons, dans lesquels sont précipités les brebis, ce qui détruit le troupeau complètement.⁴⁷ Ces visions très claires ont toutes à voir avec la séparation entre l'église catholique et l'église hérétique. Les Nicéens sont ici représentés par le bon grain, l'arbre fleuri et le troupeau immense, alors que l'ivraie, l'âne violent

⁴³ HP 2.16 : *quibus haec supplicia proficere poterant ad aeternam mercedem, si catholici fuissent et fidei merito ista perferrent* (Lancel, 129).

⁴⁴ Courtois, *Victor*, 73 : 'Des visions symboliques annoncent la persécution, comme des prodiges mystérieux avaient jadis annoncé la mort de César.' Victor lui-même utilise le vocable de 'vision' : HP 2.18 (*uisionem istam*) et 22 (*de multis uisionibus*) (Lancel, 130 et 132).

⁴⁵ HP 2.18 : *Nam ferme ante biennium quam fieret, uidit quidam Fausti ecclesiam solito in ornatu fulgentem, cereis quoque fulgentibus palleisque uelaminum ac lampadibus rutilantem ; et dum laetaretur tanti fulgoris candore, subito, ait, luminis illius concupiscibilis extinctus est fulgor ac tenebris succedentibus aduersarius naribus natus est fetor ; omnisque illa beatorum turba expellentibus quibusdam Aethiopibus minata est foras, ob hoc iugiter lamentantum quod eam in claritate pristina nequaquam uiderit iterum restitutam. Nam uisionem istam nobis praesentibus sancto rettulit Eugenio* (Lancel, 129–30). Lancel, *Victor*, 299–300, n. 158, pour les passages d'Augustin ayant probablement inspiré Victor. Il est notable que Lancel ait identifié ce passage comme un 'apologue'. Cf. G. Bavaud, 'La parabole du bon grain et de l'ivraie', in Bibliothèque augustinienne, 29, *Traité anti-donatistes*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1964), 608–9.

⁴⁶ HP 2.21 : *Vidit et uenerabilis Paulus episcopus arborem usque ad caelos ramis florentibus extensam, quae etiam dilatatione sua omnem paene Africam opacabat. Et cum uniuersi eius magnitudini et speciositati gauderent, ecce subito, inquit, uenit unus asinus uiolentus qui, defricans ceruicem suam super robur radicum eius, impulsu suo cum ingenti sonitu illam mirabilem arborem elisit ad terram* (Lancel, 131). Commentaire : Lancel, *Victor*, 300, n. 162.

⁴⁷ HP 2.22 : *Sed et Quintianus honorabilis episcopus uidit se super quendam montem stare de quo conspiciebat gregem innumerabilium ouium suarum, et in medio gregis duae errant ollae nimium bullientes. Aderant autem ouium occisores quarum carnes ollis bullientibus demergebant ; et cum ita fieret omnis illa magnitudo consumpta est gregis* (Lancel, 131). Sur l'identité de l'évêque, voir s.v. 'Quintianus 4', in PCBE I.940–1, et Lancel, *Victor*, 300, n. 163, qui penchent tous deux vers l'identification de cet évêque avec le Quintianus d'Uruc mentionné par Victor à HP 1.29.

et les chaudrons représentent les Vandales hérétiques desquels le peuple, l'auditoire de Victor, doit se méfier à tout prix.⁴⁸

Durant l'exil massif des clercs qui suivit l'accession d'Huniric, vers 482/3, Victor met en scène la fille de l'ancien évêque de Zuri, qui accompagnait un enfant auprès des prêtres et évêques exilés.⁴⁹ Lorsque l'un d'eux lui demanda ce qu'elle faisait là, la réponse que Victor lui attribue révèle, encore une fois, ses intentions apologétiques : 'J'accompagne en exil ce petit enfant, votre serviteur, afin que l'ennemi ne le trouve pas seul et ne l'entraîne pas à la mort en le détournant du chemin de la vérité.'⁵⁰ Par mort, Victor entendait évidemment une mort spirituelle, sans doute la répétition du baptême, de même que le *credo* hérétique.⁵¹ Mais il faut bien noter ici son usage des mots 'ennemi' et 'vérité' (*'inimicus et a uia ueritatis reuocet ad mortem'*), qui font tous deux partie de la stratégie apologétique de Victor, en contribuant à polariser la situation et à créer deux identités fixes, à la fois opposées et incompatibles.

À la suite d'un édit royal (daté du 20 mai 483) convoquant les évêques nicéens à un débat sur la foi, Eugenius de Carthage demanda au roi de transformer ce concile local en un concile œcuménique (2.41–2). Ce qui sous-tend cette requête est la théologie catholique d'église universelle, un argument très courant en Afrique du Nord qu'Augustin avait utilisé à profusion contre les donatistes.⁵² En effet, Eugenius spécifie que les régions d'outremer partagent la même foi et la même communion parce qu'elles obéissent toutes au règne du Seigneur : 'J'ai dit ceci : si la puissance du roi désire connaître la foi, une et vraie, qui est la nôtre, qu'il envoie des courriers à ses amis d'adresser ici nos évêques catholiques ; quant à moi, j'écrirai à mes collègues dans l'épiscopat, parce que la cause de l'Église

⁴⁸ Victor présente deux interprétations possibles pour la vision de la marmite : soit les cités de Sicca Veneria et Laribus, d'où avait commencé la 'persécution' narrée, soit Huniric et le 'patriarche' Cyrila, les agents de cette persécution. *HP* 2.22 : *Reor ego illas duas ollas Sicca Veneria et Laribus duas esse ciuitates in quibus multitudo prima fuerat congregata, e quibus incendium initium sumpsit – aut Huniricum regem et Cyrilam episcopum eius* (Lancel, 131–2). Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, l'image réfère à ce que Victor perçoit comme une 'persécution', et les auteurs en sont les Vandales homéens.

⁴⁹ 4967 personnes selon *HP* 2.26. Voir Lancel, *Victor*, 301, n. 167, au sujet du nombre et de la date, et 303, n. 174, sur l'identification possible de cet évêque (Paulinus). Cf. s.v. 'Paulinus 2', *PCBE* I.838.

⁵⁰ *HP* 2.30 : « *Cum hoc seruo uestro paruulo ad exilium pergo, ne inueniat eum solum inimicus et a uia ueritatis reuocet ad mortem* » (Lancel, 135).

⁵¹ Sur la répétition du baptême par les Vandales comme rituel de conversion, voir É. Fournier, 'Rebaptism as a Ritual of Cultural Integration in Vandal Africa', in D. Brakke, D. Deliyannis et E. Watts, eds, *Shifting Cultural Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Burlington, VT, 2012), 243–54.

⁵² Voir, e.g. Aug. c. *Ep. Parm.* 2.3.7 ; *Ep. Ad Cath. De secta don.* 20.55 ; c. *Gaud.* 34.44 ; *Gesta Coll. Carth.* 1.18, 1.55, 3.101, 3.146–7 et 3.230. Cf. S. Lancel, *Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1999), 382–403 ; H. Chadwick, *The Church in Ancient Society : From Galilee to Gregory the Great* (Oxford, 2001), 383–4, 391–3.

catholique tout entière est une.⁵³ Une fois de plus, ce passage remplit la fonction de rassurer le lecteur nicéen de son orthodoxie et surtout de sa catholicité, et par contraste de rabaisser l'église homéenne au niveau d'église purement locale, donc non-Catholique, et par implication, hérétique.

Toujours au second livre, à la suite d'un miracle d'Eugenius qui rend la vue à un aveugle, Felix, Victor insinue que le miracle incita les Homéens à l'hostilité, et qu'ils s'emparèrent de Felix afin de le questionner, accusant Eugenius d'user de magie.⁵⁴ Mais les Homéens étaient impuissants, insiste Victor, avant de les comparer aux Juifs qui désiraient tuer Lazare ressuscité.⁵⁵ Clairement, la méthode apologétique de Victor lui fait mettre en scène des Homéens médusés par l'efficacité du miracle, qu'ils confondent pour de la magie, un signe qu'ils ne sont pas les protégés de Dieu, qu'ils ne possèdent pas la vraie foi.⁵⁶ Si cela n'était pas assez clair, Victor les compare avec les Juifs, outrés du miracle ultime effectué par le Christ. Ce détail nous rapproche d'ailleurs des textes apologétiques traditionnels, en particulier le *Dialogue avec Tryphon* de Justin.⁵⁷

Le second livre se termine sur une longue défense théologique du crédo nicéen (*Liber fidei catholicae*, HP 2.56–101) qui, par sa nature même, est apologétique.⁵⁸ D'autre part, mon dernier exemple est la harangue du diacre Muritta, prononcée à l'égard d'Elpidoforus, qu'il avait baptisé mais qui s'était entretemps converti à la foi homéenne et qui était devenu bourreau pour les Vandales.⁵⁹ Muritta fait de vifs

⁵³ HP 2.44 : « *si ueram cognoscere desiderat fidem, scribat amicis suis ut dirigant nostros catholicos episcopos, et ego scribo coepiscopis meis, quia catholicae uniuersae una est causa* » (Lancel, 142).

⁵⁴ HP 2.51 : *Fit postea manifestum ecclesiae uniuersae ... Statim nuntius pergit ad tyrannum ; rapitur Felix, inquiritur ab eo quid factum sit qualiterque receperit lumen. Dicit ille ex ordine totum dicuntque Arrianorum episcopi : « Hoc Eugenius per maleficia fecit »* (Lancel, 145).

⁵⁵ HP 2.51 : *Et quia oppressi confusione lumen non poterant nubilare eo quod Felix uniuersae ciuitati manifestus erat et notus, tamen uolebant eum, si fas esset, necare, quomodo Iudaei suscitatum Lazarum cupiebant occidere* (Lancel, 145).

⁵⁶ Il est tentant de voir dans l'utilisation du mot *uniuersae*, qui encadre ce passage au début et à la fin, une allusion de Victor au contexte théologique qu'il projette, c'est-à-dire l'église universelle et catholique aux prises avec l'ennemi hérétique et local.

⁵⁷ M. Mach, 'Justin Martyr's *Dialogue cum Tryphone Iudaeo* and the Development of Christian Anti-Judaism', in O. Limor and G.G. Stroumsa, eds, *Contra Iudaeos : Ancient and Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews* (Tübingen, 1996), 27–47 ; D. Rokéah, *Justin Martyr and the Jews* (Leiden, 2001).

⁵⁸ J. Ulrich, 'Apologetics and Orthodoxy', in Brakke, Jacobsen et Ulrich, eds, *Critique and Apologetics*, 209–30, qui insiste justement sur l'auto-représentation et l'auto-définition de l'apologétique. Texte : Lancel, 148–73.

⁵⁹ HP 3.34 : *Sed libertatem tunc, dum media in urbe caederentur, Murittae diaconi ceteris liberiores tacere non debeo. Fuit quidam, Elpidoforus nomine, nimium crudelis et ferus, cui fuerat delegatum membra confessorum Christi supplicii grassantibus laniare. Hic enim dudum fuerat apud nos in ecclesia Fausti baptizatus, quem uenerabilis Muritta diaconus de alueo fontis susceperat generatum. Post uero dum apostataret, tantae exitiit*

reproches à Elpidoforus et prononce un discours sur la pureté du baptême nicéen et les châtiments qui attendent ceux qui le souillent.⁶⁰ Cet exemple est intéressant par sa double fonction : modèle à suivre en Muritta qui demeure inébranlable dans sa foi malgré la torture et avertissement pour les fidèles qui seraient tentés par les séductions temporelles offertes par les Vandales.⁶¹ Encore une fois, Victor érige les différences entre les deux factions en barrières impénétrables et incompatibles.

Il semble bien, en bout de ligne, que les caractéristiques du mode d'argumentation apologétique telles que présentées par Cameron, en particulier, expliquent parfaitement bien de nombreux passages du texte de Victor qui avaient jusqu'ici échappé à l'attention de la plupart des critiques et commentateurs. Voilà qui justifie l'argument proposé dans la présente contribution, que le texte de Victor de Vita est d'un genre hybride, puisqu'il incarne les caractéristiques à la fois de l'historiographie, de l'hagiographie et, comme il a été démontré plus haut, du mode apologétique. Les multiples oppositions binaires que l'on retrouve chez Victor, par exemple, s'expliqueraient donc par son effort apologétique d'ériger en frontières rigides des identités qui tendaient à s'effriter. La situation de crise ou de persécution, selon la perspective, qui a également été soulignée comme contexte à la littérature apologétique traditionnelle, expliquerait alors la motivation de Victor à puiser chez ses modèles des siècles antérieurs des stratégies littéraires qui s'étaient avérées efficaces. La présente contribution fournit donc un exemple de 'genre en transition dans l'antiquité tardive' : l'adaptation d'un genre littéraire surtout populaire durant les premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne – le genre apologétique – aux réalités nouvelles de l'antiquité tardive, dans ce cas-ci accompagnée par le remplacement de la dichotomie 'païen' – chrétien par l'opposition 'barbare'/hérétique – Romain/catholique. De plus, Victor présente un cas de survivance et transformation d'un genre – l'apologie, ou plus exactement le mode apologétique – traditionnellement associé aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne et qui mérite de plus amples études dans le contexte de l'antiquité tardive.

Abstract

This chapter analyses the literary genre of Victor of Vita's *Historia Persecutionis Africanae provinciae*. It argues that Victor's text is a hybrid one, since it presents

feritatis aduersus ecclesiam dei ut superior omnibus exsecutor persecutionis fuisset inuentus (Lancel, 193). S.v. 'Elpidoforus' et 'Muritta', in *PCBE* I.339 et 766–7.

⁶⁰ HP 3.35 : « *Haec sunt linteamenta, Elpidofore minister erroris, quae te accusabunt dum maiestas uenerit iudicantis ; custodientur diligentia mea ad testimonium tuae perditionis, ad demergendum te in abyso putei sulphurantis. Haec te immaculatum cinxerant de fonte surgentem, haec te acrius persequuntur flammantem gehennam cum coeperis possidere, quia induisti te maledictionem sicut uestimentum [Ps 108 : 18], scindens atque amittens ueri baptismatis et fidei sacramentum ...* » (Lancel, 193–4).

⁶¹ Voir, *supra*, n. 22.

the characteristics of three distinct literary genres – historiography, hagiography and *apologia*. These characteristics were required by the author's intentions in compiling the *Historia*, as also by his perception of contemporary events. Indeed, the mysterious author of Vita regards the Vandals as indisputable persecutors and constructs a plot around the events that he describes as a repetition of past persecutions, especially the Great Persecution under Diocletian. Victor deploys certain characteristics that belong to hagiography in order to represent the Vandals as persecutors, as also some elements of the historiographical genre in order to ensure the credibility of his narrative. His presentation of documents, such as the royal edicts, for example, recalls Eusebius' *Church history*, which Victor undoubtedly knew through the translation of Rufinus. His borrowings from the apologetic genre can also be explained by his perception of contemporary events as the repetition of past persecutions. The author thus, quite logically, resorts to the literary genre that had helped the Christians of the first four centuries overcome Roman intolerance and to galvanise the Christian communities against attacks by the Roman state. For Victor the only possible option in response to Vandal intolerance was to rally the 'troops' to face the assault, just like the Christians of earlier centuries. This chapter provides an example of the adaptation of literary genres to the new realities of Late Antiquity – the replacement of the dichotomy pagan/Christian with that of 'barbarian'-heretic/Roman-Christian. Moreover, Victor offers an instance of the survival and transformation of a genre – *apologia* – usually associated with the first centuries of the Christian era and little studied in the context of Late Antiquity.

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Chapter 9

Diabolical Motivations: The Devil in Ecclesiastical Histories from Eusebius to Evagrius¹

Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe

From the inception of classical historiography, historians aimed both to commemorate and explain the past. Their explanations of causation tended to focus on human responsibility for actions and events, but sometimes they also alluded to the influence of extra-human forces, whether natural or supernatural, on history.² From Eusebius onwards, ecclesiastical historians were similarly concerned to celebrate and explain the story of the church's progress, and they also regularly invoked the influence of supernatural forces, with a special and unsurprising emphasis on God's providential protection, promotion and punishment of his sinful people. Modern scholars exploring causation and determinism in ecclesiastical histories have understandably tended to focus on this notion of divine providence, although they differ in their adjudication of its importance.³ However, the role of another important kind of causation or motivation in ecclesiastical historiography has not been explored so systematically: the notion of the influence on human history of the devil, a fallen evil creature hell-bent on diverting man from salvation. This important idea was, of course, also prevalent in other Christian literary genres, such as hagiography, and was even visible in non-ecclesiastical historians like Procopius, and in secular writers like John the Lydian.⁴

¹ I am grateful to the organisers and participants of this conference for stimulating discussion of a first draft of this chapter, to the anonymous reader and editor for helpful suggestions and to David DeVore for his illuminating comments on Eusebius.

² J. Gould, 'Herodotus and Religion', in S. Hornblower, ed., *Greek Historiography* (New York, 1994), 91–106 at 93–7; F. Walbank, *Polybius* (Berkeley, 1972), 58–64; D.S. Levene, *Religion in Livy* (Leiden, 1993), 16–37; J. Davies, *Rome's Religious History: Livy, Tacitus and Ammianus on their Gods* (New York, 2007).

³ L. Cracco Ruggini, 'The ecclesiastical histories and the pagan historiography: providence and miracles', *Ath* 55 (1977), 107–27; W. Liebeschuetz, 'Ecclesiastical historians on their own times', *StPat* 24 (2001), 151–63 at 162; B. Croke, 'Late antique historiography 250–650 CE', in J. Marincola, ed., *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography* (Malden, 2007), vol. 2, 567–81.

⁴ A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley, 1985), 56–7, 63–5 and 244.

This chapter is a preliminary attempt to address this idea, surveying the fluctuations in the role attributed to the devil by ecclesiastical historians from Eusebius to Evagrius. The first section will focus on some telling episodes in which Eusebius re-worked and adapted patterns of diabolical motivation and causation found in other kinds of Christian texts; the second part will explore the varying emphases on diabolical and demonic motivation among Eusebius' successors in the genre. Overall, Eusebius stressed the devil's role in history much more than any of his successors, apart perhaps from John of Ephesus. While later ecclesiastical historians sometimes drew on Eusebius' patterns of causation and explanation, especially on a famous passage in book four which attributed a number of heresies to Satan, these were generally isolated borrowings. Indeed, Eusebius' Greek successors related a number of stories about the vengeful activities of demons and furies which use 'pagan' classical literary tropes, sometimes incorporated into Christian cosmology, sometimes defiantly set apart from it.

There are good reasons for treating as a coherent genre the eight ecclesiastical histories in Greek, Latin and Syriac by Eusebius, Rufinus, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Evagrius, pseudo-Zacharias and John of Ephesus.⁵ All Eusebius' successors had a common model in his work, for Eusebius self-consciously identified himself as inventing a new type of history and his successors were all, to different degrees, his continuators; they also shared a common subject in the progress of the church, itself conceived of as a nation or a people.⁶ However, there were also great differences of theological perspective, style, and habits of argumentation and documentation between these writers, and it is suggested that their varying interests in the devil's activity as an explanation for the origin of human evils is an important and characteristic aspect of divergence within the genre.

Eusebius

Eusebius studded his *Ecclesiastical History* with accounts of diabolical intervention in human history, some of which were constructed in his own words,⁷ and some

⁵ Eus. *HE*, ed. E. Schwarz (Leipzig, 1903); Ruf. *HE*, ed. E. Schwarz (Leipzig, 1903); Soc. *HE*, ed. and trans. P. Périchon and P. Maraval, SC 473, 493, 506–7 (Paris, 2004–2007); Soz. *HE*, trans. and ed. J. Bidez et al., SC 306, 418, 495, 516 (Paris, 1983–2008); Theod. *HE*, trans. and ed. P. Canivet et al., SC 501, 530 (Paris, 2006–2009); Ps-Zach. *HE*, ed. E.W. Brooks, CSCO SS 3.5-6 (Paris, 1919–24); Evag. Schol. *HE*, ed. A.-J. Festugière et al., SC 542 (Paris, 2011); John Eph. *HE*, ed. Brooks, CSCO 3.3 (Paris, 1935–36).

⁶ A. Momigliano, 'The origins of ecclesiastical historiography', in A. Momigliano, *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography* (1990), 132–52; G. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius* (Paris, 1977); Liebeschuetz, 'Ecclesiastical historians'.

⁷ For example, Eus. *HE* 2.13.1, 2.14.1, 3.26.1, 3.26.4, 3.27.1, 4.7.1–2, 4.7.10, 5.21.2, 6.39.5, 7.17, 7.31.1, 8.1.6, 9.3, 9.7.2, 10.8.2.

of which were embedded in earlier Christian documents and treatises which he regularly and fully cited.⁸ By doing some textual comparisons, it is possible to demonstrate that even where the words were apparently Eusebius' own, they were both strongly influenced by patterns he found in his sources, and yet also subtly adjusted the aetiologies of those sources. For example, in book two, Eusebius suggested that the devil, introduced in typically antonomastic style, was behind all the activities of the sorcerer and arch-heretic Simon Magus:

... the enemy of man's salvation [the devil] constructed a plan to snatch the royal city [Rome]; he led there the above-mentioned Simon, helping him with his artificial sorcery, and brought many of the inhabitants of Rome into error.⁹

He went on to say that 'this is stated by Justin', and cited verbatim a passage of the first *Apology* in which Justin Martyr related that 'demons put forward certain men who said they were gods', including Simon, 'who performed ... some mighty acts of magic by the art of demons operating in him'.¹⁰ It is notable that whereas Justin attributes evil human activity to plural demons, Eusebius reframes the story of Simon Magus as illustrating the work of the singular devil with an overarching plan.¹¹

There are similar riffs on Justin's apologetic and Irenaeus' anti-heretical treatises in books three and four. Eusebius cited Justin's own explanation that Menander was 'driven by demons', but then characterised the introduction of Christian magicians as a 'diabolical operation'.¹² He reported almost verbatim Irenaeus' claim that the Gnostics received the help of demons, but then stated in his own words that 'the malignant demon', singular, made use of the Gnostics.¹³ In emphasising the overarching influence of the singular devil, Eusebius thus significantly adjusted the pattern of causation suggested by his source texts. This is epitomised by an influential passage about 'the good-hating demon'¹⁴ devising a number of heresies after Simon Magus and Menander:

⁸ For example, *ibid.* 2.13.3, 3.26.3, 4.14.7, 4.15.40–41, 5.1.5–6, 5.1.14, 5.1.16, 5.1.25, 5.1.27, 5.1.35, 5.1.42, 5.16.8–9, 6.41.1, 6.43.6, 6.43.14, 8.10.9, 10.4.14.

⁹ *Ibid.* 2.13.1: ... ὁ τῆς ἀνθρώπων πολέμιος σωτηρίας τὴν βασιλεύουσαν προαρπάσασθαι πόλιν μηχανώμενος, ἐνταῦθα Σίμωνα τὸν πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένον ἄγει, καὶ δὴ ταῖς ἐντέχνοις τάνδρὸς συναϊρόμενος γοητείαις πλείους τῶν τὴν Ῥώμην οἰκοῦντων ἐπὶ τὴν πλάνην σφετερίζεται.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 2.13.3, citing Just. *1 Apol.* 26: ... προεβάλλοντο οἱ δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους τινὰς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι θεοὺς ... [Σίμωνα] διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργούντων δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμεις μαγικὰς ποιήσας ...

¹¹ Justin on demons: *1 Apol.* 5, 9, 10, 14, 21, 23, 25, 26, 40, 41, 44, 45, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 66; on the devil: *ibid.* 28. See also E. Osborn, *Justin Martyr* (1973), 55–65, and J. Burton Russell, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca, 1981), 63–72.

¹² Eus. *HE* 3.26.3–4; cf. Just. *1 Apol.* 26.

¹³ Eus. *HE* 4.7.9–10; cf. Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 1.25.3.

¹⁴ G. Bartelink, 'Μισόκαλος, épithète du diable', *VChr* 12 (1958), 37–44.

... the good-hating demon who is an enemy of the truth and always most opposed to the salvation of man, turning all his arts against the church, long ago armed himself against it with external persecutions; but now, being shut off from such means, using evil men and sorcerers as instruments for the destruction of souls and as ministers of perdition, he employed other methods, contriving all means so that sorcerers and illusionists, taking on the name of our religion, together led to the depth of perdition those of the believers whom they conquered ...¹⁵

Diabolically inspired heresy is the main topic of Eusebius' opening books, but the diabolically influenced persecution and execution of martyrs fills books four and five, in which Eusebius cited and adjusted existing martyrological narratives which he had collected.¹⁶ At times, his adjustments subtly but significantly altered the balance between human and supernatural agency of his source texts. For instance, a slight alteration to a passage otherwise lifted straight from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* served to separate out diabolical and human agents more clearly than the original text. The text of the *Martyrdom*, as far as it can confidently be reconstructed, runs thus:¹⁷

The jealous and envious and evil one, the adversary of the race of the just, observing the greatness of [Polycarp's] martyrdom, and that his life was irreproachable from the beginning, and that he was now crowned with the crown of immortality and had won an incontestable prize, saw to it that not even his poor body should be taken away by us, even though many were eager to do so and to have a share in his holy flesh. So he suggested Niketes, Herod's father and Alke's brother, petition the magistrate not to give up his body: 'Otherwise,' he said, 'they may abandon the crucified one and begin to worship this man.' And these things were at the suggestion and insistence of the Jews ...¹⁸

¹⁵ Eus. *HE* 4.7.1-2: ... ὁ μισόκαλος δαίμων οἷα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρὸς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας αἰεὶ τυγχάνων πολεμιώτατος, πάσας στρέφων κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μηχανάς, πάλαι μὲν τοῖς ἔξωθεν διωγμοῖς κατ' αὐτῆς ὠπλίζετο, τότε γε μὴν τούτων ἀποκεκλεισμένοις, πονηροῖς καὶ γόησιν ἀνδράσιν ὥσπερ τισὶν ὀλεθρίοις ψυχῶν ὀργάνοις διακόνοις τε ἀπωλείας χρώμενος, ἐτέραις κατεστρατήγει μεθόδοις, πάντα πόρον ἐπινοῶν, ὡς ἂν ὑποδύντες γόητες καὶ ἀπατηλοὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ δόγματος ἡμῖν προσηγορίαν, ὁμοῦ μὲν τῶν πιστῶν τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλικομένους εἰς βυθὸν ἀπωλείας ἄγοιεν ...

¹⁶ T.D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen, 2010), 42-7.

¹⁷ B. Dehandschutter, 'An updated edition of the martyrdom of Polycarp', in B. Dehandschutter, *Polycarpiana* (Leuven, 2007), 3-22.

¹⁸ *Mart. Pol.* 17: ὁ δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βάσκανος καὶ πονηρὸς, ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἰδὼν τό τε μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν, ἐστεφανωμένον τε τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον ἀπενηνεγμένον, ἐπετήδευσεν ὡς μὴδὲ τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ληφθῆναι, καίπερ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν Νικήτην τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀλκης, ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι ὥστε μὴ

At the beginning of this passage the ‘adversary’ (ὁ ἀντικείμενος) or devil is the singular subject of two verbs: ἐπετήδευσεν (‘he saw to it’ that Polycarp’s body not be taken) and ὑπέβαλεν (‘he suggested’ that Niketes petition the governor). The portion of direct speech that follows appears to be the Devil’s rationalisation of why keeping Polycarp’s body was important, but it is grammatically somewhat unclear whose words they are: the Devil’s words to Niketes or Niketes’ words to the governor? The lack of clarity about who is speaking here exploits the ambiguity of ἀντικείμενος, which stood in scripture for both a cosmic spiritual adversary and a human doing such an adversary’s dirty work.¹⁹ In the final sentence of this passage the focus of blame shifts abruptly again to another party, the Jews, who share the same verb of suggestion that was just used of the devil (ὑποβάλλω). This is not the first, or the worst, imputation of diabolical malevolence to the Jews by early Christians.²⁰ Indeed, it follows very closely the pattern of the episode in Matthew where the chief priests and the Pharisees go to Pilate and beg him to seal Jesus’ tomb so that his disciples cannot come to steal the body and then pretend it has been resurrected. This is, in turn, in line with the text’s patterning of the life and passion of Polycarp on that of Christ in the gospels.²¹ Overall, then, the passage shifts between the motivating figure of the devil, the Jews as his instruments and Niketes as the pawn of both.

Eusebius reproduced the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* in his *Ecclesiastical History* in a combination of paraphrase and near verbatim citation, with only a handful of small changes.²² However, some of those changes were made to passages where the original text had an interesting ambiguity of the relative agency of humans and the devil. For example, in his version of the penultimate sentence of the passage of *Mart. Pol.* cited above, Eusebius introduced a brand new plural subject, τινες, ‘certain ones’, who governed a plural verb of suggestion (ὑπέβαλον), and a new plural verb of saying (εἶπον):

δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα· μή, φησὶν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον τοῦτον ἄρξωνται σέβεσθαι. Καὶ ταῦτα ὑποβαλλόντων καὶ ἐνισχυόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ...

¹⁹ *Antikeimenos* in the Septuagint translates the Hebrew *satan*; in two Pauline epistles it refers to Satan (I Tim. 5.14–15) and to ‘the man of lawlessness’ (II Thess. 2.3–4), a human opponent associated with the devil who resembles the antichrist of the Johannine letters. See H. Kelly, *Satan: A Biography* (New York, 2006), 30, 115–16, 119; Russell, *Satan*, 34 and n. 6; N. Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton, 1987), 279–80.

²⁰ E. Pagels, *The Origin of Satan* (New York, 1995).

²¹ Matt. 27.62–4. See B. Dehandschutter, ‘The New Testament and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*’, in A.F. Gregory and C.M. Tuckett, eds, *Trajectories through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford, 2005), 395–406.

²² *Mart. Pol.* chs 1–7 are paraphrased, chs 8–19 are cited almost verbatim. See Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography*, 367; B. Dehandschutter, ‘The *Martyrium Polycarpi*: a century of research’, in Dehandschutter, *Polycarpiana*, 43–83 at 44–5.

So certain ones suggested Niketes, Herod's father and Alke's brother, petition the governor not to give up his body, 'Otherwise,' he said, 'they may abandon the crucified one and begin to worship this man.' They said these things at the suggestion and insistence of the Jews ...²³

That is, Eusebius entirely removed the devil from the story of the embassy to the governor, and instead introduced the intervention of plural humans making suggestions to Niketes – humans who probably anticipate the plural Jews mentioned next. This alteration made it impossible to interpret the singular speaker in the middle of this paragraph as the devil himself, whispering in human ears, and clarified that it was Niketes speaking. Of course, there are plenty of other possible explanations for why Eusebius changed his source text, from the habit of paraphrase, to the desire to abbreviate, to the re-modelling of the *Martyrdom* to adhere more closely to the archetypal episode in Matthew. However, it is striking that these adjustments were made at points in the narrative about Polycarp where their effect is to shift the relative responsibility for events from the devil to humans.

After Eusebius

Rufinus' translation of Eusebius followed the shape and much of the detail of the first eight books of the original text, but abbreviated material from books nine and ten. Rufinus thus fitted the first ten books of Eusebius' history into nine books, before adding a further two books bringing events up to his own day.²⁴ He generally rendered faithfully into Latin Eusebius' attributions of particular events to the devil's machinations, although he also tended to strip away Eusebius' qualifying adjectives and antonomastic formulations for the devil, naming him directly as *diabolus* much more often than Eusebius; this was perhaps an inevitable effect of abbreviation.²⁵ At the same time, his Latin constructions sometimes further removed the devil from active, identifiable agency in human events. For example, Rufinus, following the *Martyrdom* of Polycarp and Eusebius, described the devil as hatching a plot to prevent the body of the saint from being rescued, but used

²³ Eus. *HE* 4.15.40–41: ὑπέβαλον γοῦν τινες Νικήτην, τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν [δὲ] δ' Ἀλκῆς, ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα, μή, φησὶν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξωνται σέβειν. καὶ ταῦτα εἶπον ὑποβαλόντων καὶ ἐνισχυσάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων ...

²⁴ J.E.L. Oulton, 'Rufinus' translation of the *Church History* of Eusebius', *JTS* 30 (1929), 150–74; E.C. Brooks, 'The translation techniques of Rufinus of Aquileia (343–411)', *StPat* 17.1 (1982), 357–64; M. Humphries, 'Rufinus' Eusebius: translation, continuation, and edition in the Latin *Ecclesiastical History*', *JECS* 16 (1996), 143–64.

²⁵ For example, Ruf. *HE* 2.14.1 '*diabolus*' for Eus. *HE* 2.14.1 'ἡ μισόκαλος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐπίβουλος σωτηρίας πονηρὰ δύναμις'; Ruf. *HE* 3.27.1 '*idem daemon*' for Eus. *HE* 3.27.1 'ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων'.

a passive verb, *instigabatur*, without any diabological ablative agent, to describe Niketes' approach to the governor (here, 'judge'):

But that envier of all good and adversary of all the just, after he saw that [Polycarp] was crowned on account of the glory of his martyrdom and the virtues of his outstanding life, and obtained the prizes of immortality by his death, began to busy himself so that no-one would hand over his remains for burial to us asking. Therefore Nicetas, father of Herod, and brother of Dalca [*sic*], was incited to go to the judge and to ask him that he not hand over the body for burial; he [Nicetas] said, 'lest perhaps the Christians, leaving him who was crucified, begin to worship this man.'²⁶

In Rufinus' additions to his translation of Eusebius, books ten and eleven, there is markedly less interest in attributing human activity to the devil, although there are plenty of instances of divine intervention and punishment.²⁷ He included only a handful of examples of humans being moved to act by evil forces, themselves almost always indistinct demons rather than their forceful leader Satan. For example, he introduced Theodosius' order of a retributive massacre for the riot at Thessalonica with the statement that 'by some cunning of a vile demon a mark was branded on the pious sovereign'.²⁸ In general, he invoked demons as the inhabitants of pagan shrines and sites, forced to flee by the Christians who attacked them.²⁹ That is, demons acted in the world, but not through humans – and that activity was limited, since they were under attack by Christians. The picture of diabological intervention in human history which emerges from Rufinus is, then, of a power on the wane, and increasingly exercised by Satan's minions.

Of the three closely linked fifth-century ecclesiastical histories by Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, Socrates and Sozomen generally paid little attention to diabological motivation.³⁰ Furthermore, like Rufinus, they tended to focus on plural minor demons rather than a commander devil, in stories about the association of

²⁶ Ruf. *HE* 4.15.41: *sed ille aemulus totius boni et adversarius omnium iustorum, postquam vidit quod et pro martyrii gloria et pro vitae egregiae virtutibus coronatus est et per mortem praemia immortalitatis indeptus, satis agere coepit, ut reliquias eius ad sepulturam nostris desiderantibus nemo concederet. instigabatur ergo Niceta Herodis pater, frater autem Dalcae adire iudicem et petere ab eo ne humandum concederet corpus, 'ne forte', inquit, 'relinquentes illum qui crucifixus est Christiani hunc colere incipiant.'*

²⁷ Ibid. 10.9, 10.18, 11.1, 11.2, 11.4, 11.9, 11.22, 11.33. See G.W. Trompf, 'Rufinus and the logic of retribution in the post-Eusebian church', *JEH* 43 (1992), 351–71; and F. Thelamon, *Païens et chrétiens au IV^e siècle: l'apport de l'Histoire ecclésiastique de Rufin d'Aquilée* (Paris, 1981), 21–5.

²⁸ Ibid. 11.18: *... subreptione quadam daemonis turpis macula religioso principi inusta est.*

²⁹ Ibid. 11.22, 11.24, 11.26, 11.28, 11.33.

³⁰ P. Van Nuffelen, *Un héritage de paix et de piété: étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Socrate et de Sozomène* (Leuven, 2004), 301–3 and 306–7.

demons with pagan temples and rites,³¹ and monks' combat with demons.³² A rare instance of a statement about a single demon putting certain events in motion is found in Socrates' account of a magic and treason trial under Valens, where the motivating figure was said to be 'δαίμων τις ἀλάστωρ', a vengeful spirit which appeared in texts from Greek tragedies to Plutarch's biographies.³³ It is hard to know whether Socrates was using *alastōr* to refer to the devil, in line with Eusebius' antonomastic tendency and echoing the redeployment of the term by other Christian writers,³⁴ or whether he was making a more resolutely classical allusion, of a kind visible elsewhere in his work.³⁵ For instance, Socrates reported an idea about the role of a demon in Julian's death that is explicitly derived from pagan tradition and related to a classical literary form:

... Kallistos, one of his body-guards, who celebrated this emperor's deeds in heroic verse, says in narrating the particulars of this war, that the wound of which he died was inflicted by a demon. This is possibly a mere poetical fiction, or perhaps it was really the fact; for furies have undoubtedly pursued many persons. Be the case however as it may, this is certain, that the ardour of his natural temperament rendered him incautious, his learning made him vain, and his affectation of clemency exposed him to contempt.³⁶

Socrates here reported an opinion offered by a pagan in his verse epic, about which he expressed doubt while asserting that Julian's own actions exposed him to harm. By leaving open the possibility that there might have been some supernatural action in play too, Socrates allowed for a kind of over-determination, or double motivation. Strikingly, such supernatural action is not attached to the devil, but to the activity of some unspecified demon, itself related to the furies: powerful figures from tragedy and epic.³⁷ The vengeful figure of a female fury, identifiable

³¹ For example, Soc. *HE* 1.18, 3.18; Soz. *HE* 5.19–20, 6.20; Theod. *HE* 3.3.

³² Ibid. 4.23–4; Soz. *HE* 6.20, 6.28.

³³ Soc. *HE* 4.19. See E. Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2002), 85–6 and F.E. Brenk, *In Mist Appareled: Religious Themes in Plutarch's Moralia and Lives* (Leiden, 1977), 106–7.

³⁴ G. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (New York, 1961), 69.

³⁵ T. Urbainczyk, *Socrates* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 99; Momigliano, 'Pagan and Christian historiography', 91; Chesnut, *First Christian Histories*, 178–89.

³⁶ Soc. *HE* 3.21.14–16: Κάλλιστος δὲ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τοῦ βασιλέως στρατευόμενος, ἱστορήσας τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἡρωικῷ μέτρῳ, τὸν τότε πόλεμον διηγούμενος ὑπὸ δαίμονος <αὐτὸν> βληθέντα τελευτήσαι φησιν. Ὅπερ τυχὸν μὲν ὡς ποιητῆς ἐπλασεν, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἔχει· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐριννύες μετέλθον. Ἦι {ὅπως} δ' ἂν ἔχοι τὰ κατ' αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκεῖνά γε οὐκ ἐλάνθανεν, ὡς ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ προθυμίαν οὐκ ἀσφαλῆς, δι' εὐπαιδευσίαν κενόδοξος, δι' ἐπιείκειαν πεπλασμένην εὐκαταφρόνητος.

³⁷ N.J. Sewell-Rutter, *Guilt by Descent: Inheritance and Decision Making in Greek Tragedy* (Oxford, 2008), 78–109.

by her whip and connected with demonic *alastores*, also appeared in a report by Sozomen about events preceding the riot of the statues at Antioch:

They say that, on the night before the sedition occurred, a spectre was seen in the form of a woman of prodigious height and terrible aspect, pacing through the streets of the city, lashing the air with an ill-sounding whip, similar to that which is used in goading on the beasts brought forward at the public theatres. In this way one of the vengeful demons [*alastorōn*] set in motion the revolt through a plot.³⁸

This tallies with a passage in Libanus which attributed the riot to the activity of an evil demon.³⁹ It also echoes the explanatory habits of the non-Christian, classicising late antique historians Ammianus and Zosimus, who meditated on the intervention in history of the avenging personifications of *Adrasteia* and *Dike*.⁴⁰ Overall, then, whereas Eusebius communicated ideas of diabolical influence which owed much to Christian apologetic literature and martyr acts, Socrates and Sozomen owed much more to the *daimones*, *alastores* and furies of classical epic, tragedy and historiography.

In contrast to Socrates' and Sozomen's works, the introduction of Theodoret's ecclesiastical history was more clearly indebted to Eusebius. It echoes the earlier writer's ideas of a singular motivating evil *daimōn* who shrank from open warfare, and used humans as instruments (ὄργανα) to introduce heresy:

But the all-evil and envious demon, the vengeful spirit [*alastōr*] of mankind, unable to bear the sight of the church sailing on with favourable winds, stirred up plans of evil counsel, eager to sink the vessel steered by the creator and Lord of the universe. When he began to perceive that the error of the Greeks had been made manifest, that the various tricks of the demons had been detected, and that the greater number of men worshipped the creator, instead of adoring, as heretofore, the creature, he did not dare to declare open war against our God and saviour; but having found some who, though dignified with the name of Christians, were yet slaves to ambition and vainglory, he made them fit instruments for the execution of his designs, and by their means drew others back into their old error, not indeed by the former method of setting up the

³⁸ Soz. *HE* 7.23: φασι δὲ τῆς φθασάσης νυκτός, μεθ' ἣν εὐθὺς ἐπιγενομένης ἡμέρας ἡ στάσις ἐγένετο, φάσμα γυναικὸς θεαθῆναι μεγέθει ἐξαίσιον καὶ θέα φοβερόν, μετάρσιόν τε διατρέχον ἀνὰ τὰς ἀγυῖας τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἄερα μαστίζειν ὑπὸ μάστιγι δυσήχῳ, οἷαις εἰς θυμὸν προκαλοῦνται τοὺς θῆρας οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα θέατρα πονοῦντες. οὕτω τις ἀλαστόρων δαιμόνων ἐπιβουλὴ τὴν στάσιν ἐκίνησεν.

³⁹ Lib. *Or.* 19.29. See A. Momigliano, 'Popular beliefs and the late Roman historians', in G. Cuming and D. Baker, eds, *Popular Belief and Practice* (Cambridge, 1971), 1–18.

⁴⁰ R.L. Rike, *Apex Omnium: Religion in the Res Gestae of Ammianus* (Berkeley, 1987), 11–17, 130–32.

worship of the creature, but by bringing it about that the creator and maker of all should be reduced to a level with the creature.⁴¹

Theodoret echoed Eusebius' antonomastic habit of referring to the devil by epithets like *baskanos*,⁴² but also characterised him as *alastōr*, the classicising figure just discussed in Socrates and Sozomen. Theodoret concluded his opening description of the diabolical envy and passion of Arius by claiming that: 'In him [Arius] the enemy of the truth found a means whereby to stir and agitate the storm of the church, and clearly persuaded him to strive against the apostolic doctrines of Alexander.'⁴³ Here we see the devil making Arius say and do things, much as Eusebius had explained he acted on Simon Magus and other heretics, and Niketes. However, beyond this opening Eusebian flourish, Theodoret has almost nothing to say about the singular devil in the rest of his work, apart from an aside in book five about the 'snares' and 'stumbling blocks' of 'the common enemy of mankind'.⁴⁴ Indeed, even his references to plural evil spiritual forces making people behave in certain ways are relatively limited, such as episodes in books three and five where demons were said to have whipped up supporters of Julian, and to have inspired spectators at a gladiatorial game to stone to death Telemachus (a monk who had tried to stop the spectacle).⁴⁵

A final trio of historians, pseudo-Zachariah, Evagrius and John of Ephesus, wrote in the sixth century, but of course they did not share the same theological perspective: Evagrius was a thoroughgoing Chalcedonian, where the pseudonymous translator and reviser of Zachariah and John of Ephesus were miaphysites. They also differed in their use of diabolical aetiologies. Pseudo-Zachariah was not very interested in the activities of demons and the devil, beyond passing mention of

⁴¹ Theod. HE 1.1: 'Ἄλλ' ὁ παμπόνηρος καὶ βάσκανος δαίμων, ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀλάστωρ, οὐκ ἦνεγκεν ἐξ οὐρίων φερομένην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὀρών, ἀλλὰ τὰς κακομηχάνους ἐκίνει βουλὰς καταδῦσαι φιλονεικῶν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ καὶ δεσπότου τῶν ὅλων κυβερνωμένην. ἑώρα δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν πλάνην δῆλῃν γεγεννημένην καὶ φωραθέντα τὰ ποικίλα τῶν δαιμόνων τεχνάσματα, καὶ τὴν μὲν κτίσιν παρὰ τῶν πλείστων οὐκ ἔτι προσκυνούμενην, τὸν δὲ ποιητὴν ἀντὶ ταύτης ὑμνούμενον. οὗ δὲ χάριν οὐκ ἔτι προφανῶς τὸν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀνεργίτιζε πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἄνδρας εὐρῶν τῆς μὲν Χριστιανικῆς προσηγορίας ἡξιωμένους, φιλοτιμία δὲ καὶ κενῇ δόξῃ δεδουλωμένους, ὄργανα τοῦτους τῶν οἰκείων ἀπέφηνε τεχνασμάτων· καὶ διὰ τούτων πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἐπανήγαγε πλάνην, οὗ τὴν κτίσιν πάλιν προσκυνεῖσθαι παρασκευάσας, ἀλλὰ τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ δημιουργὸν συνταχθῆναι τῇ κτίσει κατασκευάσας. Cf. Eus. HE 4.7.1–2 cited above.

⁴² G. Bartelink, 'Baskanos, désignation de Satan et des démons chez les aucteurs chrétiens', *OCP* 49 (1983), 390–406.

⁴³ Theod. HE 1.1: τοῦτον εὐρῶν ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντίπαλος δι' αὐτοῦ κυκᾶ καὶ κινεῖ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν ζάλην· ταῖς γὰρ ἀποστολικαῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου διδασκαλαῖς προφανῶς ἀντιτείνειν ἀνέπειθε.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 5.16.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 3.3 and 3.5; 5.26.

individuals who were possessed,⁴⁶ and an isolated but intriguing reference to the Justinianic plague as a scourge from Satan who received permission from God to discipline human beings.⁴⁷ By contrast, Evagrius foregrounded a diabolical explanation for the rise of Arianism in the very opening to his work:

Unable to tolerate this, the good-hating demon caused a certain foreign and quite different war to arise against us, despising the idolatry that was trampled underfoot and shoving aside the servile insanity of Arius. And whereas he was afraid to assault the faith like an enemy, since it was fortified by so many holy fathers and he had been deprived of much of his force while besieging it, still like a thief he pursued the deed, devising anew certain questions and answers and in a novel fashion bringing the errant towards Judaism, not comprehending, the wretch, the reverse that would come from there as well: for what he previously held as his only adversary he now cherished and embraced, and not so that in his arrogance he might dislodge the entirety but that he might manage to counterfeit even one word.⁴⁸

This passage clearly owes something to passages of Eusebius and Theodoret already discussed, for example, characterising the devil as unable to engage in open warfare.⁴⁹ However, beyond this, and in contrast to Eusebius, Evagrius showed little interest in diabolical activities beyond the demonisation of historical bogeymen such as Nestorius, commonplace references to pagan temples' association with demons, and the association of the devil with heresy.⁵⁰

Arguably the most diabolically inclined of this trio is John of Ephesus, or at least the third part of his history, the only section which survives in an independent manuscript tradition.⁵¹ John repeatedly explained particular political machinations as being stirred up by the devil or demons. He ascribed the downfall of Thallus, prefect of Constantinople and director of the local charitable *diakonia*, to the

⁴⁶ Ps-Zach. *HE* 7.14a; 9.6d.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 10.9a.

⁴⁸ Evag. *HE* 1.1: ... οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ὁ μισόκαλος δαίμων ξένον τινὰ καὶ ἀλλόκοτον ἡμῖν ἐπ'ανίστησι πόλεμον, τὴν τε πεπατημένην εἰδωλολατρίαν περιφρονήσας καὶ τὴν δουλικὴν Ἀρείου μαρίαν παραγκωνιάμενος. Καὶ προσβαλεῖν μὲν ὡς ἐχθρὸς τῇ πίστει δέδοικεν ὑπὸ τοσούτων ἁγίων πατέρων πυργωθείη καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐν τῇ ταύτης πολιορκίᾳ παρηρημένος, ληστρικῶς δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα μέτεισι πεύσεις τινὰς ἀποκρίσεις τε αὐτῷ μηχανώμενος, πρὸς Ἰουδαϊσμὸν καινοπρεπῶς ἐπανάγων τὸν πλανώμενον, οὐ συνιεῖς καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἦτταν ὁ δεῖλαιος—ὃ γὰρ πρότερον μόνον ἀντίπαλον εἶχε, νῦν τέτληπ' ἐκεῖ καὶ περιπτύσσεται— καὶ οὐκ εἰ τοῦ παντὸς ἐξώσῃ γε φρυαττόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ λέξιν τινὰ παραχαράττειν οἷός τε γένοιτο·

⁴⁹ Cf Eus. *HE* 4.7.1–2 and Theod. *HE* 1.1 discussed above.

⁵⁰ Evag. *HE* 1.8, 1.16, 2.5.52.

⁵¹ W. Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre, Chronicle Part III*, TTH vol.22 (Liverpool, 1996), xxvii–xxix; S. Ashbrook Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints* (Berkeley, 1990), 30–31.

envy of the devil.⁵² He explained at length how bishop John of Sirmin and the emperor Justin were incited by evil spirits to persecute believers and behave madly.⁵³ He expanded imaginatively on the theme of demons attacking humans.⁵⁴ He also repeatedly related how the devil had stirred up schism and division in the church.⁵⁵ For example, John explained how Satan diverted the miaphysite Longinus, missionary in Nubia, to go to Alexandria and stir up schism there; he gleefully related the devil's intervention in the nitty-gritty of human affairs, inciting Alexandrian clergy to write letters summoning Longinus from Nubia.⁵⁶ Thereafter, the schismatic consecration of a second bishop in Alexandria was said to be done 'at the will and pleasure of the slanderer [the devil]: he made it happen and performed these things'.⁵⁷ Overall, John manifested a strong belief in the Satanic origin of schism and heresy which echoes both Eusebius and the broader heresiological tradition. Moreover, John's experience of being persecuted for his Miaphysitism probably shaped his presentation of his opponents as motivated by more than ordinary human hatred, but by something diabolically furious.⁵⁸ Indeed, the notion of the council of Chalcedon as itself the work of the devil was prominent in the anti-Chalcedonian tradition, in works such as John Rufus' *Plerophoriae*.⁵⁹

Conclusions

Half a century ago, Momigliano identified the devil as an important player in ecclesiastical historiography, and one worthy of further investigation, but then limited himself to the brief observation that: 'the devils seem to have respected the classical distinction of literary genres. They established themselves in biography, but made only occasional irruptions in the field of annales.'⁶⁰ In fact, neither Satan nor his demons respected Momigliano's generic boundaries so strictly, and cropped up in many ecclesiastical histories, albeit with varying degrees of

⁵² John Eph. *HE* 2.15.

⁵³ Ibid. 2.26 and 3.2–3.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 3.36.

⁵⁵ For example, *ibid.* 4.9, 4.11, 4.36, 4.40, 4.43, 4.51, 4.59, 4.61.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 4.9.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 4.11.

⁵⁸ P. Wood, 'Excluded from power? The boundaries of orthodoxy in the work of Athanasius and John of Ephesus', in P. Sarris, M. Dal Santo and P. Booth, eds, *An Age of Saints? Power, Conflict and Dissent in Early Medieval Christianity* (Leiden, 2011), 62–76, esp. 69–75.

⁵⁹ E. Watts, 'John Rufus, Timothy Aelurus and the fall of the Western Roman empire', in R. Mathisen and D. Shanzer, eds, *Romans, Barbarians and the Transformation of the Roman World* (2011), 102.

⁶⁰ A. Momigliano, 'Pagan and Christian historiography in the fourth century AD', in A. Momigliano, ed., *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963), 79–99 at 93.

prominence. Furthermore, the strict boundaries between genres implied by Momigliano's distinction cannot hold, since the very appearance of the devil (or a suggestively singular demon) as a motivating or causatory factor in ecclesiastical histories can often be ascribed to the influence of other texts and genres, whether Christian heresiologies and martyr narratives, or more classical tragedy and epic, on ecclesiastical history.

Since Momigliano, other scholars have offered stimulating but all too isolated readings of the role of the devil within ecclesiastical histories. For example, Whitby described the fleeting appearance of a 'disruptive and malignant devil' in Evagrius' narrative as a 'convenient device for explaining awkward events'.⁶¹ However, the devil was not merely or only employed where other explanatory devices failed. Functional and rhetorical readings of the role of the devil dangerously underestimate the importance to late antique Christians of the very notion of the devil's work. Satan was responsible for the fatal temptation of Adam and Eve which put men in bondage to sin, and Christ's incarnation and redemptive death were held necessary to redeem men from that sin. That is, Satan's sinful activity was the starting motor for all of salvation history.⁶² To invoke him as an agent with ongoing interests in unsettling human affairs was not just a rhetorical cast of speech empty of theological meaning, but fitted into broader conceptions of human history as caught in an ongoing cosmic struggle between overarching forces of good and evil; a vision which owed, of course, much to Paul.⁶³ All of these ecclesiastical histories are threaded through, at some level, however faint and fine, with a notion of spiritual opposition. This could be through the secondary agency of minor, comically impotent demons inhabiting statues and fighting monks, or through the more frighteningly powerful singular devil's use of human instruments, often among the rulers and leaders of empire and church, in persecution and heresy. What is striking, however, is that historians differed in their emphasis and presentation of this idea, demonstrating the range of explanatory possibilities within a genre whose focus and subject was otherwise relatively stable.

⁶¹ M. Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Liverpool, 2000), 278 n. 63.

⁶² S. Lunn-Rockliffe, 'The diabolical problem of Satan's first sin: self-moved pride or a response to the goads of envy?', *StPat* 54 (2013), 1–20.

⁶³ J.B. Russell, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (Ithaca, 1977), 221–49; Forsyth, *The Old Enemy*, 258–84.

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PART III
Visual Genres

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Chapter 10

Producing Distinction: Aristocratic and Imperial Representation in the Constantinian Age

Mariana Bodnaruk

In the *Historia Augusta*, a series of imperial biographies written in the 380s, Emperor Gallienus is said to have been the first to wear in public a radiate crown (*corona radiata*) and a purple cloak (*chlamys purpurea*) with jewelled and golden clasps.¹ He also donned a tunic with sleeves of purple and gold (*tunica purpurea aurataque*) and a jewelled military sword belt (*balteus*), and fastened jewels down to the laces of his boots (*campagi*).² Nostalgia for a good emperor and desire for a ruler respecting the senatorial order, conservative by nature, prompted the author of the *Historia Augusta* to criticise Gallienus' breach of the traditional vestimentary code and to note previous emperors as always wearing the toga (*semper togati*).³ By divesting themselves of the toga, late-third-century Roman emperors are shown to have renounced the very notion of the civilian ideology of the early empire. Although, despite his exclusion of senators from military service, Gallienus was not solely responsible for the abrupt break with the tradition increasingly cut off from office since the Severan period,⁴ the fourth-century pro-senatorial source

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¹ Hist. Aug. Gall. 16.4, *radiatus saepe processit; cum chlamyde purpurea gemmatisque fibulis et aureis*.

² Ibid., *purpuream tunicam auratamque virilem eandemque manicatam habuit; gemmato balteo usus est; corrigias gemmeas adnexuit, cum campagos reticulos appellaret*.

³ Ibid., *Romae [...] ubi semper togati principes videbantur*.

⁴ P.M.M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulnre in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180–235 n. Chr.)* (Amsterdam, 1989), 107–8, 123; P. Eich, *Zur Metamorphose des politischen Systems in der römischen Kaiserzeit: die Entstehung einer 'personalen Bürokratie' im langen dritten Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 2005), 341–6.

ascribed it to him.⁵ In juxtaposition with imperial representation, senatorial art demonstrated togate statues with a remarkable tenacity. This intriguing alignment between form and meaning firmly witnessed the political stand of the Roman aristocracy in the tetrarchic and Constantinian periods.

By linking the emperor's 'face of authority' on coin obverses with the Roman senate on the reverse, imperial ideology presented both as part of a coherent whole.⁶ It attempted to unify the newly reformed *ordo senatorius* as a homogeneous social formation in a way that was convenient for rule. The variegated images of the senatorial elites, sculpture portraits in particular, at their intersection with the changing emperor's likeness in the orbit of imperial ideology, are the subject of this study. A series of questions arises: How did different types of the early-fourth-century senatorial elite manage to produce distinctions by means of representation? What conceptual parallels can be established between different types of the 'elite image' and imperial ideology? Is the former a reaction to the latter, or did the elite representation coalesce fully with the ideology of the later empire? The structure of this short study is triple: the first part explores the aristocratic fashion of the last decades of Constantinian rule and the relationship between senatorial and equestrian sculpted representations in the visual language of the toga costume (I); the second part investigates shifts and shifters within three canonical garments in imperial statue representation under Constantine while revisiting innovations during the late tetrarchy (II); the third part, finally, briefly compares aristocratic and imperial images of the period and draws conclusions.

I. *Semper togati*: Senatorial Representation

Honorary statues of members of the Roman aristocracy, the traditional (and by implication conservative) medium of representation of the senatorial elite, underwent conspicuous transformation in the Constantinian period. Following Michele Salzman, the aristocracy is defined as members of the senatorial order

⁵ Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 33.34, '*quia primus ipse metu socordiae suae, ne imperium ad optimos nobilium transferretur, senatum militia vetuit et adire exercitum*', 37.6, '*Gallieni edicto*'. As Victor's statement is the only evidence for such a decree, its historicity has been denied: D.S. Potter, ed., *A Companion to the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 2009), 164. The process of the separation of military and civilian duties (accelerated from the 230s onward), however, resulted in the exclusion of senators from military commands under Gallienus, which was officially formalised by Diocletian: M. Christol, *Essai sur l'évolution des carrières sénatoriales: deuxième moitié du III s. ap. J.C.* (Paris, 1986), 39–48; M. Heil, 'Der Ritterstand', in K.-P. John, U. Hartmann, and T. Gerhardt, eds., *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser: Krise und Transformation des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (235–284)* (Berlin, 2008), 757–8; I. Mennen, *Power and Status in the Roman Empire, AD 193–284* (Leiden, 2011), 137–59.

⁶ A. Wallace-Hadrill, 'Image and Authority in the Coinage of Augustus', *JRS* 76 (1986), 67–9.

that attained the lowest senatorial rank, the clarissime, either by holding an office conferring senatorial rank or by being born into the senatorial order.⁷ This definition pays respect to intrinsic social contradictions which permeated the *ordo senatorius* that had been enlarged and homogenised through Constantine's legislative intervention. In turn, in late Roman art, portrait sculpture as a genre came to play a greater role in 'the principle of order': it established resemblance, analogy, identity and difference for statue types and dress codes of the senatorial aristocracy.⁸

From a comparative perspective, aristocratic representation in the Constantinian age cannot be assessed on a large scale in relation to a preceding senatorial imagery dating back to the early and high empire because of the relative scarcity of evidence preserved from this period. At present, no more than five senatorial standing statues can be securely attributed to Constantine's reign. Out of this lamentably small number two are no longer extant and are known only from previous catalogue descriptions.⁹ All five statues are attributed to senators, all come either from Rome or Italy, all show traces of reuse and recutting. The limited evidentiary base, uncertain identification and floating dating of these statue portraits pose a challenge for reading aristocratic representation in the Constantinian age on an empire-wide scale. Comparing the five surviving sculptural portraits of the senatorial order, few of which were found *in situ* accompanied by their statue bases, with the more than 50 preserved portraits of Constantine¹⁰ is a difficult venture if we want to assess the empire-wide ideological implications of the senatorial portraits on the same level as imperial imagery. Despite this warning, a recontextualisation of senatorial art should be done.

The portrait statue of a man in a toga found in the Forum Baths in Ostia, removed from its base in an excellent state of preservation, demonstrates in the best possible way the contradiction in the self-definition of the Constantinian senatorial elite.¹¹ The honorand wears a toga with an *umbo* and a *sinus*, a short-sleeved

⁷ M.R. Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2002), 21.

⁸ G. Genette, 'Genres, "Types," Modes', *Poétique* 32 (1977), 389–421; J. Derrida, 'The Law of Genre', *Critical Inquiry* 1 (1980), 55–81.

⁹ U. Gehr, *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike. Chlamydati und Togati* (Wiesbaden, 2012), 490–504, 514–19.

¹⁰ H.P. L'Orange et al., *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen, 284–361 n.Chr.* (Berlin, 1984), 118–28; J. Elsner, 'Perspectives in Art', in N. Lenski, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine* (Cambridge, 2012), 256.

¹¹ R. Calza, *Museo Ostiense* (Rome 1947), 13, no. 55; R. De Chirico, 'Nuova statua-ritratto del basso impero trovata ad Ostia', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica del Governatorato di Roma* 69 (1941), 113–28, pls. 1–2, figs. 1–3; S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca, eds, *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Rome, 2000), 648, no. 356; Gehr, *Ehrenstatuen*, 490–7, no. W2, pl. 37 (Constantinian); <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk, LSA-1082> (following De Chirico, wrongly dated to the early fifth century; last accessed 13 July 2014).

tunic, and the *calcei equestres* on his feet – the equestrian shoes distinguished from the *calcei senatorii* in the edict of maximal prices of 301 (9.7–9). This combination of the traditional senatorial toga and distinctive equestrian *calcei* is particularly striking as it was no longer used in representations of *clarissimi* in the post-Constantinian period.

The closest parallel to the long-bearded and lank-haired marble head of the Ostia *togatus* is the portraiture on early fourth-century hunting sarcophagi. The rendering of the face clearly does not follow the imperial model.¹² The small eyes of the honorand of the statue do not resemble the heavenward gaze of Constantine, yet are similar in the form of the deeply drilled pupils and can be compared with the large U-shaped pupils of the portrait of Constantine from the Forum of Trajan¹³ and the bust of a late Constantinian magistrate now in the Museo Torlonia.¹⁴

The Ostia figure has an attribute of a bundle of scrolls at its right foot on the plinth. The honorand could have been celebrated in this manner for his learning and education (*paideia*), frequently echoed in contemporary inscribed epigrams.¹⁵ In this case, however, the scrolls clearly designate an ‘aristocracy of office’, an urban and cultural marker of the *militia* of civil service.¹⁶ The statue honours the intellectual capacity and good judgement of an imperial officer. What is more, the *calcei equestres* point to the honorand’s different, non-senatorial origin. From the iconographic evidence of the Constantinian senatorial statuary one paradox therefore seems indubitable. While Constantine’s policy of an extensive

¹² P. Zanker, ‘Herrscherbild und Beamtenporträt’, in: N. Bonacasa and G. Rizza, eds, *Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato* (Rome, 1988), 108–9.

¹³ P. Zanker, ‘Kolossales Bildnis des Konstantin vom Trajansforum’, in *Konstantin in Berlin* (Milan, 2006), 17–19; E. La Rocca and P. Zanker, ‘Il ritratto colossale di Costantino dal Foro di Traiano’, in A. Leone, D. Palombi and S. Walker, eds, *Res bene gestae: ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di Eva Margareta Steinby*, LTUR Supplementum IV (Rome, 2007), 145–68; A. Demandt and J. Engemann, eds, *Konstantin der Grosse* (Mainz, 2007), no. I.8.10 (by C. Parisi Presicce); LSA-833 (by J. Lenaghan).

¹⁴ P.E. Visconti, *Catalogo del Museo Torlonia di sculture antiche* (Rome, 1880), 226, no. 500 (Philip the Arab); H.P. L’Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts* (Oslo, 1933), 64, 139, no. 93, figs. 168–9 (early fourth century); *idem*, *Herrscherbild*, 113; W. von Sydow, *Zur Kunstgeschichte des spätantike Porträts im 4. Jahrhundert. n. Chr.* (Bonn, 1969), 36, 38 (Constantinian); R. Calza, *Iconografia Romana Imperiale. Da Carausio a Giuliano (287–363 d. C.)* (Rome, 1972), 183–4, no. 101, pl. 61, 192–3; LSA-904 (by J. Lenaghan).

¹⁵ P. Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1995), 190.

¹⁶ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, I, 529; R.R.R. Smith, ‘Late Antique Portraits in a Public Context: Honorific Statuary at Aphrodisias in Caria, AD 300–600’, *JRS* 99 (1999), 177, 183; H. Wrede, *Senatorische Sarkophage Roms* (Mainz, 2001), 77, analysing senatorial self-understandings on the basis of sarcophagi, points out that with the change in the Roman senators’ role in the late third and early fourth century the new men preferred to present themselves on their sarcophagi as civic leaders, namely cultivated officials bearing scrolls.

co-optation of equestrians into the senatorial order aimed to consolidate the imperial elites on a greater scale, it did not wholly dissolve the *ordo equestris*, which relentlessly persisted in distinguishing itself within the newly defined senatorial order throughout the fourth century.

The contradiction produced by the equestrian infusion into the senatorial order is further revealed by the togate portrait statue of C. Caelius Saturninus signo Dogmatius¹⁷ from Rome, one of the most precisely dated statues from the Constantinian age.¹⁸ As a paradigm for the dress code toward the end of Constantine's reign and for the constraints of recycling, Saturninus is shown in an old-fashioned toga with a small, centrally placed *umbo*, a broad *sinus* reaching the knee and a tunic with sleeves. His garments, however, are not defined by the togate statue available from the high empire for reworking, neither is his physiognomy entirely modelled on the extant portraiture. The conspicuous representation of the toga, similar to contemporary reliefs on the arch of Constantine, emphasises the purple stripe corresponding to the honorand's dignity. Its choice should not be confined to a purely aesthetic decision. Statuary cannot be interpreted exclusively according to social content; there is a need to put forward the requirement of a formal criterion other than ahistorical style categories such as Constantinian 'classicism'.¹⁹ The 'classical' drapery of the toga – introduced by Augustus – with a full *lacinia* which touches the ground should by no means be read as an expression of anti-imperial or anti-Christian sentiments. Following Andrew Alföldi, scholars have often assumed the existence of a 'senatorial resistance' on the part of Roman aristocrats who abandoned traditional rites after Constantine's conversion, as if Constantine had been directly concerned with the conversion of the senatorial aristocracy in Rome.²⁰

¹⁷ B. Salway, 'What's in a name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from 700 BC to 700 AD', *JRS* 84 (1994), 136–7.

¹⁸ *PLRE* I, 806, Saturninus 9; L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, 64, 139, no. 92, figs. 167 and 170; A. Giuliano, *Catalogo dei ritratti romani del Museo Profano Lateranense* (Vatican City, 1957), 81–2, no. 99, pls. 59–60; H. Blanck, *Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern* (Rome, 1969), 34–5, no. A8, pl. 9; H.R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (Mainz, 1990), 134, Bb 83; M. Bergmann, 'La ritrattistica privata di età costantiniana: l'abbandono del prototipo imperiale', in A. Donati, and G. Gentili, eds, *Costantino il Grande* (Milan, 2005), 159–60, figs. 1–2; Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 498–504, no. W3, pl. 37; *LSA*-903 (by J. Lenaghan, dated to c.324).

¹⁹ R.R.R. Smith, 'The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century', *JRS* 87 (1997), 186, 202.

²⁰ A. Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* (Oxford, 1948); H. Bloch, 'A New Document in the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393–394 AD', *Harvard Theological Review* 38 (1945), 199–244. For the recent debate on 'pagan resistance', see Alan Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford, 2011) and Stéphane Ratti, *Polémiques entre païens et chrétiens. Histoire* (Paris, 2012).

Saturninus wears the closed leather shoes associated with the equestrian order, virtually unattested in representations of *clarissimi* after Constantine. It comes as no surprise that the inscription accompanying the statue presents him as an equestrian with a fine financial career elevated to the senatorial rank. What is indeed striking, however, is that Saturninus explicitly signals that what he wears really makes a difference. A senator by the time the statue was dedicated to him, he clearly states by his choice of footwear that he stems from the equestrian order.²¹ The paradoxical statement of a conscious mixture of equestrian and senatorial as well as military and civilian representations establishes an opposition and asserts a contradistinction. It is based on a dual observation: he is not who he is. In his preference for the reused statue, he must have wanted the *calcei equestres* to remain visible. An equestrian in imperial service, Saturninus holds a scroll in his left hand, while a bundle of scrolls knotted in a strap rests against his right foot. The distinction becomes an ideological one, revealing an inner tension in the self-representation of the imperial aristocracy of service.

The carefully recut statue portrait shows Saturninus with short hair, a short beard and a short barb. The tetrarchic impression of Saturninus' portrait can hardly be read as deliberate opposition to the current regime defined by the Augustan image of the emperor but rather as an unintended reference to the political order under which his career had begun. It continued through the Constantinian period, reaching its climax when he entered the Senate by the *adlectio inter consulares* c.325–26. Far from representing the alleged resistance to the new imperial order, Saturninus owed his rise solely to his loyalty and closeness to the emperor, who granted him the title of *comes* shortly before the statue was displayed in the private setting of the honorand's *domus*.²² The celebratory base inscription

²¹ It is noteworthy in that both the inscription and the costume explicitly point to his equestrian career prior to his consular rank, thus showing the elevation of status within the equestrian order which ultimately culminated in the incorporation of high-ranking equestrians into the senatorial order under Constantine. Although fused into one new expanded order of *clarissimi*, not all members of the *ordo equester* experienced such elevation of status. The equestrian order did not come to an end with Constantine's reforms, as he granted senatorial status only to high equestrian prefects: B. Salway, 'Equestrian Prefects and the Award of Senatorial Honours from the Severans to Constantine', in A. Kolb, ed., *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis* (Berlin, 2006), 132–5; Mennen, *Power and Status in the Roman Empire*, 176–82. On the disappearance of the equestrian order in the fourth century, see Cl. Lepelley, 'Fine dell' ordine equestre: le tappe dell' unificazione della classe dirigente romana nel IV secolo', in A. Giardina, ed., *Società romana e impero tardo antico*, vol. I, *Istituzioni, ceti, economie* (Bari, 1986), 227–44; *idem*, 'Du triomphe à la disparition. Le destin de l'ordre équestre de Dioclétien à Théodose', in S. Demougin, H. Devijver and M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, eds, *L'ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie (IIe siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*, *Actes Coll. Int. Bruxelles-Louvain oct.1995* (Rome, 1999), 629–46.

²² J. Weisweiler, 'From Equality to Asymmetry: Honorific Statues, Imperial Power, and Senatorial Identity in Late-antique Rome', *JRA* 25 (2012), 319–50, exposes the contexts in

praises Saturninus for having maintained his status within the imperial financial administration over a long period since the second tetrarchy. His influence is then rooted in the positions Saturninus occupied until he became a *clarissimus* elevated to the rank of *consularis* at the request of the senate.²³

In the process of the formation of the senatorial elite initiated by the imperial reforms of the late third and early fourth centuries, the traditional Roman elite faced a challenge with the emergence of the new service aristocracy. The toga statue of Q. Flavius Maesius Egnatius Lollianus signo Mavortius from the Campanian town Puteoli (its head destroyed in the early twentieth century) represents an aristocrat coming from an ancient senatorial family going back at least to the Severan period.²⁴ The honorand is dressed in a toga, whose style and technique places its date of creation in the early Antonine period, which must have been a highly satisfactory type for senators in the fourth century. Under the traditional toga he wears a tunic accompanied by the appropriate senatorial *calcei* on his feet.

How should one read the unity of this distinction? In light of the incomplete state of evidence, limiting factors make it difficult to answer all the questions that could be posed. The second togate portrait statue of Lollianus found in Puteoli is no longer identifiable, the head is missing, yet the dedication distinctly attests to his extraordinary popularity.²⁵ The figure is described as dressed in a tunic and an ample toga with a swelling over the chest, wearing a *balteus* over the left shoulder and *calcei patricii* on his feet. The *calcei patricii* were a part of the consular costume, as one sees in the representations of the consular diptychs, distinguished by being coloured golden from those of other senators and imperial officials. The *calcei* distinguish him in the highest Roman appointed office, that of the consul, corroborated by the honorific inscription, leaving no place for any other distinction to surpass it. Dedications of late Constantinian time honour Lollianus as a holder

which late antique statuary was displayed with the reference to Saturninus' statue, 319, n. 4.

²³ *CIL* VI, 1704; F. Guidobaldi, 'Domus: Caelius Saturninus s. Dogmatius (Honorius)', in E. M. Steinby (ed.), *LTUR* II (Rome, 1995), 174; I. Di Stefano Manzella and S. Orlandi, 'Dedica onoraria e carriera di Caius Caelius Saturninus', in I. Di Stefano Manzella, ed., *Le iscrizioni dei cristiani in Vaticano. Materiali e contributi scientifici per una mostra epigrafica* (Vatican City, 1997), 267–9; *LSA*-1266 (by C. Machado).

²⁴ *PLRE* I, 512–13, Lollianus 5; C. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique (histoire et topographie)* (Paris, 1907), 421, no. 23; H. Fuhrmann, 'Archäologische Grabungen und Funde in Italien und Libyen', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1941), 614–15; Blanck, *Wiederverwendung*, 35–6, no. A 9, pl. 8a; G. Camodeca, 'Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana (fine II–IV secolo)', *Puteoli* 4 (1981), 59–128, 100 ssq. no. 1; H.R. Goette, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen* (Mainz 1990), 129, no. Ba 321 (Flavian); F. Zevi et al., *Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei: Castello di Baia. II* (Naples, 2008), 152–3 (by R. Marchesini); Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 514–18, no. W5, pl. 38 (dated to 336); *LSA*-44 (by J. Lenaghan).

²⁵ *Puteoli, Notizie degli scavi di antichità* (Rome, 1885), 568–9; Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique*, 420–21, no. 22; Blanck, *Wiederverwendung*, 36–7, no. A 10; Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 518, no. W6 (dated to 336); *LSA*-1124 (by J. Lenaghan).

of a pagan priesthood (*augur publicus populi Romani Quiritium*),²⁶ not repeated, remarkably, in the much later inscription from the base of his statue erected by his son in Rome.²⁷ The lost togate statue of Quintus Flavius Maesius Cornelius Egnatius Severus Lollianus Junior, the son of Lollianus of the *clarissimus* rank and senatorial patron, also found in Puteoli, provides an example of a distinction produced by dynastic reference through jointly erected statues of father and son.²⁸

It is symptomatic that there is not a single visual parallel to the equestrian footwear of *clarissimi*, found in the representational art of the senatorial elite under Constantine, in the subsequent period. It is indeed curious, because the equestrian order had survived in Rome as a distinctive one and persisted into the post-Constantinian period until the Theodosian attempts at integration. The equestrians were not entirely assimilated despite imperial reorganisation and amalgamation in the senatorial order. At some stage under Constantine, intra-senatorial gaps between *ordines* were explicit, as has been demonstrated above for the senatorial representation. The surviving standing statues further accentuate the importance of the traditional toga through the reuse of the samples originating from the high empire, which were clearly entirely acceptable for the early fourth-century honorands. They reference the senatorial past to express continuity. With the rise of the equestrians, the senatorial order had grown over the course of the fourth century and turned out to be increasingly differentiated. It formed a new nobility and constituted a new empire of elites.

II. The Three Garments: Imperial Representation

The vestimentary code of imperial self-representation took on a curious appearance in the early fourth century: the imperial chlamys costume rose to prominence at the expense of both the traditional toga and the *lorica* statue types. In no way was the chlamys new to imperial representation. Known from the late first century, this familiar type took on a new meaning in late antiquity; it became the principal imperial ceremonial dress, surpassing and partly superseding the traditional *habitus civilis* and *habitus militaris*. The tetrarchy heralded both a change in imperial self-representation and the emergence of the new chlamys, which retained its significance under Constantine.

²⁶ *Eph. Ep.* VIII 365 = *ILS* 1224b; cf. *CIL* X, 1695; *CIL* X, 1696; *AE* 1977, 198.

²⁷ *CIL* VI, 1723+1757=37112; *LSA*-1426 (by C. Machado). The role of inscriptions in the reading of the monuments is well expressed in H. Niquet, *Monumenta virtutum titulique. Senatorische Selbstdarstellung im spätantiken Rom im Spiegel der epigraphischen Denkmäler* (Stuttgart, 2000), 52–3, 125, on Lollianus.

²⁸ *PLRE* I, 514, Lollianus 6; *CIL* X 1697; Camodeca, ‘Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana’, 59–128; Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 518–19, no. W7 (dated to 336); *LSA*-335 (by C. Machado).

Five surviving standing porphyry statues in chlamys have recently been redated to the Constantinian period.²⁹ Their material, garments and attributes suggest that all of them are imperial representations, honouring either an augustus or a caesar. All these statues show an imperial honorand wearing a tunic and chlamys fastened by a fibula on the right shoulder. The large fibulae have oval gems in the centre, three round pearls or gems on opposite sides, and long pendilia with three ends adorned by pearls and small knobs at their terminations. As indispensable elements of garments, fibulae entered the iconography of the imperial chlamys only in the late tetrarchic period, appearing on the *aurei* of Licinius and Licinius II.³⁰ Constantine adapted and elaborated them as part of the royal regalia.

The new garment adopted for the imperial representation of the tetrarchic and Constantinian porphyry statuary decisively cast the emperor as a soldier. Owing to Diocletian's reforms on the separation of civilian and military expertise, the ideology of fashion showing the emperor as a senator was by implication abandoned. Statues in Berlin (Figure 10.1)³¹ and Ravenna³² show the emperor grasping the scabbard of a sword with his left hand – assumed for the Parisian statue³³ and missing from the Viennese one (Figure 10.2)³⁴ – while his right hand

²⁹ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 336–49, nos. P5–8, 10, pls. 34–6.

³⁰ Smith, 'The Public Image of Licinius I', pl. V, figs. 1–6. See also M. Schmauder, 'Die Onyxfibel aus Szilágysomlyó und die Gruppe der sogenannten Kaiserfibeln', in W. Seipel, ed., *Barbarenschmuck und Römergold: der Schatz von Szilágysomlyó. Eine Ausstellung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien und des Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Budapest: Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, 2. März bis 2. Mai 1999* (Vienna, 1999), 121–37.

³¹ R. Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrrwerke. Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1932), 104–6, pl. 47, fig. 37; Calza, *Iconografia*, 296–8, no. 208, pl. 103, 370a; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 67–8, 129–30, pl. 46c; M. de Nuccio and L. Ungaro, eds, *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* (Venice, 2002), 329–30, no. 28 (by A. Effenberg); Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 336–40, no. P5, pl. 34; *LSA-1007* (by M. Bergmann).

³² Delbrück, *Porphyrrwerke*, 111–14, pls. 50–51; Donati and Gentili, *Costantino*, 282–3, no. 119 (by M.-G. Maioli); Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 342–6, no. P7, pl. 35; *LSA-1010* (by M. Bergmann).

³³ Ph. Manguyres, *Porphyre: la pierre pourpre des Ptolémées aux Bonaparte* (Paris, 2003), 63–5; J.-L. Martinez, *Les Antiques du musée Napoléon* (Paris, 2004), 224, no. 407; Donati and Gentili, *Costantino*, 283, no. 120 (by D. Roger); Demandt and Engemann, *Konstantin*, no. I.4.4 (by D. Roger); Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 348–9, no. P10, pl. 36; G. Sena Chiesa and P. Biscottini, eds, *Costantino, 313 d.C.: L'editto di Milano e il tempo della tolleranza* (Rome, 2012), 249–50, no. 156; *LSA-1185*.

³⁴ Delbrück, *Porphyrrwerke*, 104–11, pl. 49, fig. 39; Calza, *Iconografia*, 298, no. 209, pl. 103, 370 b; R. Noll, *Vom Altertum zum Mittelalter. Spätantike, altchristliche, völkerwanderungszeitliche und frühmittelalterliche Denkmäler*. (Vienna, 1974), 17, no. A10; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 68, 139, pl. 47b; *Milano capitale dell'Impero romano, 286–402 d.C.* (Milan, 1990), 332; Ensoli and Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, 561–2, no. 217 (by L. Faedo); Demandt and Engemann, *Konstantin*, no. I.4.15 (by K. Zhuber-Okrog); Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 340–2, no. P6, pl. 34; Sena Chiesa and Biscottini, *Costantino, 313 d.C.*, 249, no. 155; *LSA-1009* (by M. Bergmann).



Figure 10.1 Porphyry statue of an armoured emperor in chlamys (from Alexandria) (courtesy of the Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin)



Figure 10.2 Porphyry statue of an emperor in chlamys (from Alexandria)
(courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna)

rests on the sword's hilt. The usual hands-on-sword pose of emperors dressed in *chlamydes*³⁵ has been interpreted as a gesture of pushing a sword back into its scabbard and thus conveying the idea of peace. Yet, as Marianne Bergmann has argued, the hands are resting rather lightly on the hilts, conveying the idea of calm preparedness.³⁶ This combination of *chlamys* and sword is no longer seen in the post-Constantinian period. Constantinian coinage does not depict weapons together with the imperial *chlamys* costume.³⁷

The other distinctive garment, the Roman *lorica* also made a decisive return to the imperial vestimentary code. The curious reverse in Constantinian visual politics marking the reappearance of the *lorica* costume in imperial sculptural representation is explained by the fact that the traditional statue type in armour was not reserved for the emperor; it was also available to the senatorial elite. Originating in the early empire, this iconographical convention stood for the ideological parity claimed by both emperors and senators. Its absence from late tetrarchic porphyry statues raises a suspicion of an intentional rejection of the equality of emperor and senate. Constantine, who reworked conventions and redefined the relationship between ruler and senate, brought the traditional military garment back. He adjusted the previous meaning of the garment by reconstituting the semantics of the *lorica* as actual fashion without challenging the newly defined role of the emperor.

The (probably Constantinian) porphyry portrait statue in armour in Turin,³⁸ wearing a long-sleeved short tunica, a muscle cuirass and a cloak (*paludamentum*) draped in a bunch at the left shoulder, is heavily adorned with gems on the cuirass and belt.³⁹ Why does the loricated statue feature gemstone jewellery so abundantly? Extra gems are shown in the middle of each of the leather straps of the skirt; the middle strap is completely decorated. This over-emphasised display of gems shows a further advance of the tetrarchic imperial representation seen on porphyry statuary (Figure 10.3).⁴⁰ While the traditional iconography of the loricated statue

³⁵ Cf. Delbrück, *Porphyrwerke*, 115–16, figs. 45–6; *LSA*-1011 (by M. Bergmann).

³⁶ *LSA*-1010 (by M. Bergmann).

³⁷ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 339.

³⁸ Delbrück, *Porphyrwerke*, 106–8, pl. 48, fig. 38; Calza, *Iconografia*, 332–3, no. 238, pl. 116, 424–5; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 67–8, 138–9, pl. 47; Donati and Gentili, *Costantino*, 283–4, no. 121 (by G. Pantò); Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen*, 84, 90–2; *LSA*-1008 (by M. Bergmann).

³⁹ Cf. Delbrück, *Porphyrwerke*, 101–3, pl. 44; Calza, *Iconografia*, 208, no. 126, pl. 68, 234; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 126; Donati and Gentili, *Costantino*, 284, no. 122 (by G. Spinola); *LSA*-1006 (by M. Bergmann, dated to the late third or fourth century).

⁴⁰ Delbrück, *Porphyrwerke*, 84–91, pls. 32, 33b, 34c–d, figs. 31–3; Calza, *Iconografia*, 98, nos. 7, 8, 28, 47, pls. 11.27–9; 22.55–6; 28.75; 32.89–90; 45.133; W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), 266–7 s. v. Philadelphion; M. Bergmann, *Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Bonn, 1977), 163–5; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 4, 6–10, 21, 25, 27, 103, pls. 4b, 6b; H.P. Laubscher, 'Beobachtungen zu tetrarchischen Kaiserbildnissen aus Porphyry', *JbDAI* 114 (1999), 205–52; Demandt and Engemann, *Konstantin*, no. I.4.1 (by K.-P. Goethert); *LSA*-4, 439 (by M. Bergmann); cf. *LSA*-840.



Figure 10.3 Porphyry group of armoured Tetrarchs (from Constantinople)
(photograph by author)

affirms a military association shared by the ruler with senators in the political configuration of the early empire, through its exaggerated use of jewels it articulates the newly elevated status of late antique emperors.

The inscribed marble portrait statue of Constantine in military armour from the baths on the Quirinal shows the emperor dressed in a cloak fastened on the right shoulder by a round fibula, a metal breast plate with leather shoulder flaps and skirt, a short tunic, a broad belt and a sword.⁴¹ The emperor wears a *corona civica* and holds either a sceptre or perhaps a lance or a *vexillum* in the left hand, while in the right hand he may have held a globe, now lost. Another portrait statue of Constantine in armour found at the same place, now in the Lateran, holding a sword in his left hand and probably a sceptre in his raised right hand, wears a *corona civica* with a central jewel and the same military dress, but with a difference: the cloak is fastened by a round fibula on the left shoulder.⁴² The reused marble portrait bust of Caracalla dedicated to Constantine from Numidia in the second quarter of the fourth century equally shows the imperial honorand in military armour similar to the depiction in the Lateran.⁴³

There is nothing enigmatic in this sudden return of the traditional pattern of representation; it came back after the new ruler's image had been consolidated and a new equilibrium achieved with the senatorial elite. The porphyry statue in Berlin shows an emperor wearing a long tunic and a toga with an *umbo* in the old-fashioned type of 'classical' Augustan drapery characterised by rope-like folds falling in parallel groups.⁴⁴ Even if it meant to display the stripes of the *toga praetexta*, the senatorial insignia of the early empire, this *togatus* betrays its late antique provenance. Since the tetrarchy, coin designs featured the imperial portrait statue in the toga costume in the context of imperial consulship. In contrast to tetrarchic porphyry works, the invocation of classical proportions makes the togate Berliner similar to the other Constantinian chlamys and *lorica* statues. The gesture of the raised hand that comes forward is quite conservative, emblematic for the numerous toga statues of the early empire.⁴⁵ As traditional senatorial attributes of the Augustan period were no longer appropriate for imperial togate portrayal, Richard Delbrück has suggested that there

⁴¹ R. Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts. Von Constantinus Magnus bis zum Ende des Westreichs* (Leipzig, 1933), 113–18, pls. 30–32; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 126, pls. 40, 42a, 42d; K. Fittschen and P. Zanker, *Katalog der Porträts in den Capitolischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom*, I (Mainz, 1985), 144–5, no. 120, pls. 149–50; *LSA*-555 (by J. Lenaghan).

⁴² Delbrück, *Kaiserporträts*, 118–19, pls. 33–5; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 126–7, pls. 42e, 43–4; Fittschen and Zanker, *Katalog der Porträts in den Capitolischen Museen*, I, 147–52, no. 122, pls. 151–2; *LSA*-556.

⁴³ Blanck, *Wiederverwendung*, 26–7, no. A1, pl. 4a; I. Tantillo, 'Riflessioni su Costantino e il sole', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité*, 115.2 (2003), 1015–22; *LSA*-1121.

⁴⁴ Delbrück, *Porphyrwerke*, 99–100, pls. 42–3; Calza, *Iconografia*, 110, no. 15, pl. 15, 41; L'Orange, *Herrscherbild*, 69, 120, pl. 47c; Ensoli and Rocca, *Aurea Roma*, 562, no. 219 (by L. Faedo); *LSA*-1004 (by M. Bergmann).

⁴⁵ R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art: The Use of Gestures to Denote Status in Roman Sculpture and Coinage* (New Heaven, 1963), 69.

was a consular sceptre in the left hand and a globe in the right hand – depictions found on coins from the time of Constantine.

Constantine's visual politics show a striking parallel with the programme of Augustan classicising iconography, assuming the relation between Augustus and Constantine as equal to the relation between a prototype and its historical fulfilment. Constantine markedly portrayed himself as the heir of the legacy of the founder of the empire rather than the heir of the tetrarchic imperial system. Thus, he adopted a youthful and handsome clean-shaven portrait image from a distant yet attractive Augustan model (Figure 10.4), although, remarkably, without implying a similarity in the concept of authority held by the first emperor.⁴⁶ This new Constantinian portrait language was the synthesis of Roman imperial traditions referring ultimately to the Augustan idiom of a *princeps*, a soldier yet a civilian in Rome, where images of the first emperor served as a model for Constantinian portraits (Figure 10.5). The Augustan-Apolline image of Constantine referred to a supreme solar deity who guaranteed the holder's possession of a heavenly mandate to rule. The emphasis on effective military leadership was retained and amplified, and, although the typological focus shifted to Alexander the Great after the decisive defeat of the last Constantinian rival, Licinius, in 324, it did not replace Constantine's Augustan iconography, now imbued with the divine attributes of Hellenistic kingship such as a diadem.⁴⁷

III. Comparing Aristocratic and Imperial Representation

Bringing together the aristocratic and imperial representations, a triumphal arch dated 315, dedicated at Rome in expectation of the imperial arrival for the *decennalia* and celebration of Constantine's victory over Maxentius, includes a sequence of relief panels portraying Constantine's campaign that led to his *adventus* in 312.⁴⁸ The image of the emperor on the arch, similarly to imperial porphyry statuary, shows Constantine in both chlamys and toga costume. What appears here is a parallel between two imperial garments (and, by implication, two ideological representations). The crucial question concerns the exact relationship between two

⁴⁶ M. Bodnaruk, 'From Politics of Memory to Visual Politics: Comparing the Self-representations of Constantine and Augustus', in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*. Vol. 19 (Budapest, 2013), 9–32.

⁴⁷ J. Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2011), 11–19, on a diadem.

⁴⁸ On the arch as a senatorial monument and the role assigned to the senate itself on the reliefs, see N. Lenski, 'Evoking the Pagan Past: *Instinctu divinitatis* and Constantine's Capture of Rome', *JLA* 1, 2008, 206–59 and *idem*, 'The Sun and the Senate: The Inspiration for the Arch of Constantine', in B. Ardura, ed., *Costantino il Grande: Alle radici dell'Europa* (Vatican City, 2013), forthcoming who analyses the prominent place of senators on the arch as designed to co-opt Constantine into the Roman senate and its ideology.

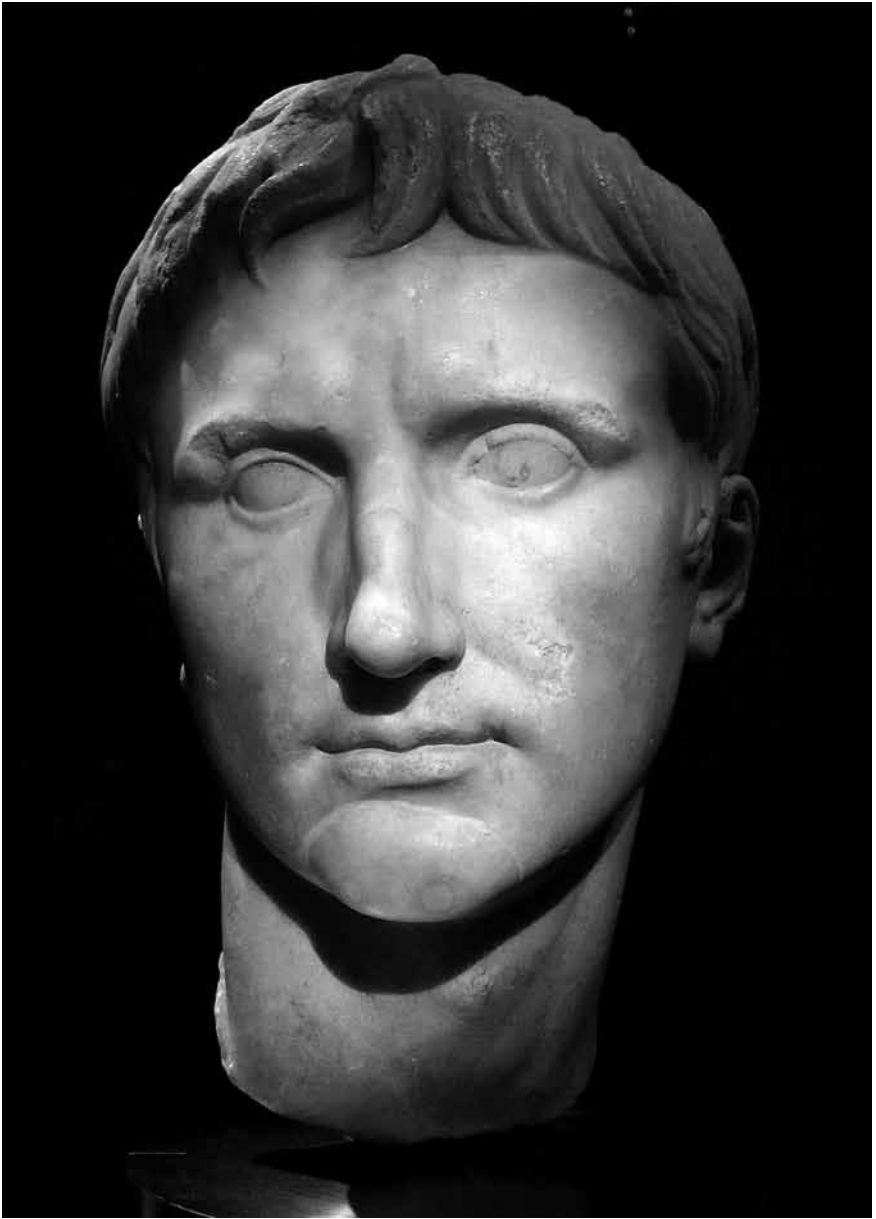


Figure 10.4 Augustus, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. I 60
(photograph by author, courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum)

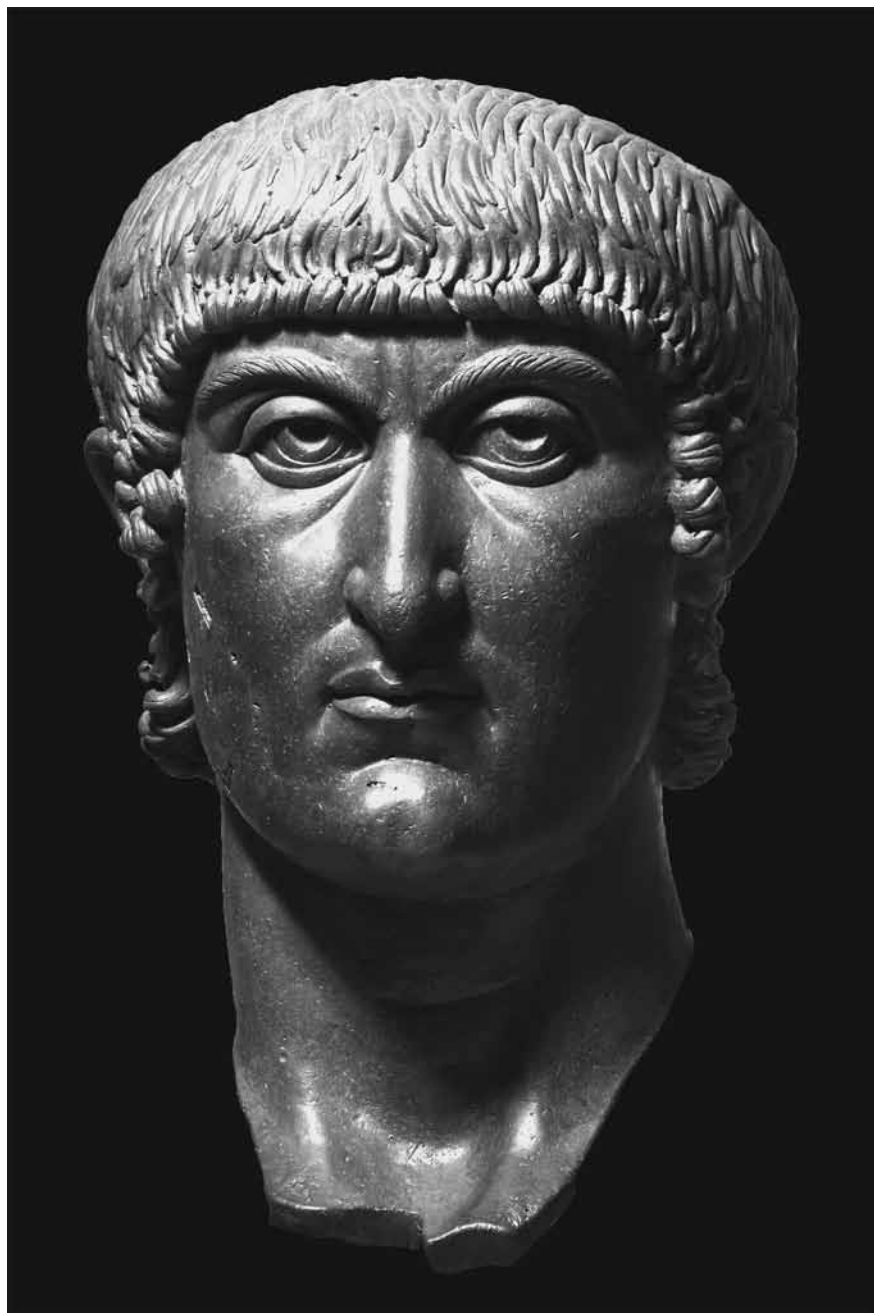


Figure 10.5 Constantine, Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. no. MC 1072/S
(courtesy of Archivio fotografico dei Musei Capitolini)

vestmentary codes as worn or at least as depicted. The relationship is by no means a simple sequence required for the traditional ceremony of an imperial *adventus*. When Constantine celebrated his triumphal entry on the next day after the Battle at Milvian Bridge, not only did he omit segments from the staged ritual, but he also substituted one for another. It could have taken place only with regard to the nature of the civil war. As Augustus' revolution followed the civil wars, so a new style of Constantine's empire emerged after a victory over internal foes. The triumphal *adventus* thereby staged no homecoming. It contributed instead to a mood of unease among the senatorial aristocracy in whose collective memory a military arrival recalled Septimius Severus' advance on Rome in 193.⁴⁹ Armed soldiery within the gates of city, led by the emperor dressed in the *chlamys* (the *ingressus* scene) (Figure 10.6),⁵⁰ renouncing the customary *mutatio vestis* before entering the city, must have caused considerable anxiety.⁵¹

The two imperial garments – toga and *chlamys* – were seemingly incompatible from the senatorial point of view. On the northeastern frieze Constantine is even more subversive: while addressing the nobles in the senate house and the people from the rostra (the *oratio* scene; Figure 10.7),⁵² he reappears in a *chlamys*, discarding the traditional toga. The emperor is surrounded by the most senior representatives of the senate, dressed in togas. From their perspective, the proper thing for him to do would be to renounce his military dress, but he refuses to do so, he insists on a *chlamys*. Legally or practically excluded from military command in favour of social *novi homines* from the provinces, the senators under Constantine turned the civilian identity of their garment into a sign of distinction. Rising senatorial prestige and the administrative reforms of the senate and senatorial order undertaken by Constantine resulted in disguised criticism from the old senators directed not so much towards an increasingly powerful emperor constantly absent from Rome⁵³ as towards the

⁴⁹ Hist. Aug. Sev. 6.6, '*ingens trepidatio militum civiumque*'; 7.3, '*ingressus Severi odiosus atque terribilis*.' On comparison of Constantine's usurpation to those of Augustus and Severus, see J. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 2000), 70, 76; R. Chenault, *Rome Without Emperors: The Revival of a Senatorial City in the Fourth Century* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2008), 18–20.

⁵⁰ H.P. L'Orange, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* (Berlin, 1939), 72–8.

⁵¹ Cf. Hist. Aug. Sev. 7.1–4; Herodian, *Hist.* 2.14.1, 'ὁ δὲ Σεβήτρος σὺν παντὶ τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ὥπλισμένῳ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀφικνεῖται, ἔκκληξιν τε καὶ δέος ἅμα τῷ ὀφθῆναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνέβαλε τοῖς οὕτω τετολημμένοις τε καὶ εὐτυχηθεῖσιν ἔργους.'

⁵² L'Orange, *Bildschmuck*, 80–89. For Constantine's *oratio* as a military allocution, see N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Power* (Aarhus, 1986), 325.

⁵³ M. Salzman, 'Constantine and the Roman Senate: Conflict, Cooperation, and Concealed Resistance', in M. Salzman, M. Sághy and R. Lizzi Testa, eds, *Pagans and Christians in Fourth Century Rome* (forthcoming) reads the representational programme of the arch as a means of senatorial resistance. Also taking this view is E. Marlowe, 'Framing the Sun: The Arch of Constantine and the Roman Cityscape', *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006), 223–42; *eadem*, '*Liberator urbis suae*. Constantine and the Ghost of Maxentius',



Figure 10.6 Arch of Constantine, Rome. *Ingressus* (photograph by author)



Figure 10.7 Arch of Constantine, Rome. *Oratio* (photograph by author)

novi homines, a new ruling elite of former equestrians and magistrates who had only recently advanced to the *clarissimae*.

On the northwest frieze of the arch, however, Constantine is portrayed wearing a toga while dispensing largess to the people (the *liberalitas* scene; Figure 10.8).⁵⁴ What lies behind the significant relation between the garments is a political association, i.e., Constantine's relation to Rome's resident senatorial aristocracy. If one indeed wishes to see the emperor's iconographical transformation from military conqueror to civilian emperor following the sequence of the frieze, one

in B.C. Ewald and C.F. Norena, eds, *The Emperor and Rome. Space, Representation and Ritual* (Cambridge, 2010), 199–219.

⁵⁴ L'Orange, *Bildschmuck*, 89–102.



Figure 10.8 Arch of Constantine, Rome. *Largitio* (photograph by author)

might ask why Constantine changed his chlamys for a toga so late. The chlamys is over-accentuated to depreciate a toga because it simultaneously refers to both the military and civil power of the emperor. Constantine's progression from military to civilian, accompanied by a change of vestimentary features of the imperial costume in the culminating scene of the *largitio* frieze, became the climax of a social encounter, eventually allowing the Roman senators to claim equality with the emperor.

As for the practical political implications of these symbolic changes, the partial independence of senatorial representation from imperial models reflected in the early fourth-century perseverance of the older toga type cannot be simply equated with a means of resistance. The self-representation of the senators on the arch as a means of making them equivalent to the emperors by their dress in particular should not be taken to the extreme: far from expressing a wish to resist the existing regime, it was closer to a form of anxious clinging to the past. Already from the late fourth century onwards the chlamys and new toga were progressively adopted by senators in Rome reflecting the influence of the imperial court.⁵⁵

To conclude, aristocratic and imperial representations show the enduring importance of the traditional toga under Constantine. The togate costume remained metonymically 'equal' to the senatorial order as such, but remarkable distinctions of the equestrian *ordo* recently co-opted to the senate are apparent. The toga stood for continuity; the reuse of statues from the early or high empire added symbolic capital to the honorand lent from a distant but venerable model. In no way was it intended as a means of resistance. As a result of the early fourth-century governmental reforms and a further decline of Rome as an imperial residence, senators appeared more than ever before dependent on the preservation of good relations with the emperor in order to maintain their social pre-eminence. The

⁵⁵ Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike*, 186–9.

imperial representation, for its part, shifted the accents within its choice of the three distinct garments but adding a new emphasis on the imperial chlamys and rehabilitating the traditional *lorica*. Senatorial representation, however, exerted no influence on contemporary portraits of Constantine, who efficiently experimented with adopting an Augustus-like imperial image and a new imperial chlamys costume. In other words, since clothing rhetorically signifies and guarantees the passage to distinction, the transformation of its conventions for both senatorial and imperial representations speaks for a conspicuous shift of the political frontiers in the relations between the emperor and the senatorial elites, redefined anew in the age of Constantine. Sculptural portraiture as a genre, classificatory and taxonomic, therefore worked so as to produce a distinction, designating new social boundaries through a certain type of representation.

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Chapter 11

Declaring Victory, Concealing Defeat?

Continuity and Change in Imperial Coinage of the Roman West, c.383–c.408¹

Christopher Doyle

All kingdoms or empires are obtained by war and extended by victories²

All Late Roman western governments experienced internal challenges, either in the form of rebellion or usurpation (see Table 11.1), the majority of which were successfully dealt with.³ Once such acts had been suppressed, it was customary for the winning side to prosecute a propaganda war against its defeated opponents. This chapter examines how two genres – panegyric and victory type coinage, i.e. coins depicting the goddess Victoria – were used to promote the state's triumph over its domestic enemies. Victoria appears within the panegyric genre in relation to the suppression of usurpation, although mention of her within this genre is occasional. Rather, it is on Late Imperial coinage where Victoria is most commonly represented. Sometimes, parallels appear between the two genres. For example, the panegyrist Claudian's description of Victoria protecting the Roman senate with her golden wings is mirrored on a very common late fourth-century gold coin series depicting the goddess hovering above the heads of various reigning Augusti. The example used in this chapter to illustrate this connection between genres is a *solidus* of the usurper Magnus Maximus (Figure 11.6).⁴ For a great many usurpers also used the medium of the victory coin genre to promote their legitimacy and

¹ Special thanks, for their advice and encouragement, to Professors Geoffrey Greatrex and Richard W. Burgess, Department of Classics and Religious Studies, University of Ottawa.

² Tert. *Apol.* xxv. 65: *omne regnum uel imperium bellis quaeritur et uictoriis propagator*; Tertullianus, *Apologeticum*, ed. E. Dekkers, CCSL 1 (Munich, 1954–61).

³ Only two Late Antique usurpers (*tyranni*), Constantine I and Julian, were actually successful. *Tyrannus* was the common term used for a usurper in Late Antiquity but it was also sometimes, though rarely, used for other persons accused of high treason, see J. Szidat, *Usurpator Tanti Nominis; Kaiser und Usurpator in der Spätantike, 337–476 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart, 2010), 27–30.

⁴ See the section on 'The Heirs of Theodosius I' below for the full excerpt from Claudian.

power, just as their legitimate counterparts did.⁵ Rebels, it should be noted, did not issue coinage.⁶

In addition to panegyric and victory coinage, there were other ways for successes over rebels and usurpers to be celebrated. The severed heads of fallen usurpers were frequently displayed publicly throughout the empire's major cities. However, this practice had a limited impact as only a small percentage of the populace actually got to see these grisly trophies.⁷ Other mutilated body parts were also displayed for propagandist purposes, especially right hands. This directly correlated with the triumphal symbolism of imperial power as evidenced in literature, coinage (see Figure 11.3), art and laws.⁸ Two imperial constitutions, from 402 and 426 respectively, attest to the triumphal right hand of the Augusti.⁹ Right-hand symbolism was also applied to non-Augusti, as Claudian's panegyric '*De consulatu Stilichonis*' demonstrates. Composed in honour of the *magister militum* Stilicho's first consulship in 400, Claudian's work described Stilicho's right hand as instrumental in directing an imperial victory over the rebellious commander of Africa (*comes Africae*) Gildo, during the spring of 398.¹⁰ Triumphal parades played a role in the propaganda of state victories over its enemies but, as with ritual head and hand display, these events were restricted to specific cities, usually the western and eastern capitals, and so had only a limited audience.¹¹ The collective process of *damnatio memoriae* was a further means of disseminating news of the elimination of a public enemy (*hostis publicus*). *Damnatio memoriae*

⁵ Cohen is the only numismatic authority to reference a 'Victory' coin for the usurper Procopius (365–6), H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain*, vol. 8, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1880–92), 122. The RIC and LRBC do not contain any Victory coin types of the usurper Procopius. Furthermore, Cohen provides no illustration with his description of Procopius' Victory coin type. Is it possible that Cohen confused Procopius with another later emperor of the same name?

⁶ See H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350–425* (Oxford, 1996), 194. Rebellions, according to Elton, could be tolerated and contained a little longer than usurpations so long as they did not present an imminent danger to an incumbent, legitimate emperor. On fourth- and fifth-century usurpations in general see A.E. Wardman, 'Usurpers and Internal Conflicts in the 4th Century AD', *Historia* 33 (1984), 220–37.

⁷ On the ritual triumphal display of traitors' heads during Honorius' reign see M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory; Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge, 1990, repr.), 57–60.

⁸ Priscus Attalus had the fingers of his right hand cut off before being exiled, Olymp. fr. 13; Johannes (usurper in 423–5) was not so fortunate. Prior to decapitation his right hand was severed, Olymp. fr. 43; Olympiodorus, ed. Blockley *FCH*, vol. 2.

⁹ *CTh.* 14.17.14 (22 March 402: *triumphalis dexteræ nostræ*/our triumphal right hand); 10.20.16 (23 February 426: *dexteræ triumphalis*/triumphal right hand).

¹⁰ *Claud. Stil.* 3. 7–8: *conplectere dextram, sub iuga quæ Poenos iterum Romana redegit*/embrace the right hand which has made the Carthaginians [this refers to Gildo's forces] to go under the Roman yoke again; Claudius Claudianus, ed. Th. Birt, *MGH AA* (Berlin, 1892).

¹¹ McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 59.

could involve legal and literary condemnation, portraiture and destruction and mutilation, epigraphic erasure and coin melting, all of which combined sought to publicly denigrate the memory of a condemned individual and was intended as a deterrent against future treason. Yet in spite of these harsh measures, the frequency of revolts and usurpations only intensified over the last century of the Western Empire.

The most effective method for publicising the state's victories over rebels and usurpers was via coinage, which, as 'organs of information', carried the greatest propaganda value. Coinage disseminated the message of imperial triumph the farthest.¹²

The Origins of *Victoria Augusti*

Representations of the goddess Victoria frequently appear upon the reverse type of Roman coinage from the late third century BC onward.¹³ It was during the Augustan era when the goddess Victoria Augusta personified first appeared on coinage (Figure 11.1). Her portrayal at this time reflected Roman victories over external rather than home-grown enemies.¹⁴ By the Late Empire, in addition to external threats (barbarian attacks and a resurgent Persian Empire), the usage of *Victoria Augusti* on coinage now applied to an ever-rising tide of civil discord. Between the elevation of Constantine I in 306 and the death of Honorius in 423 rebellions and usurpations had become so commonplace that there was on average one in progress about every four years. One of Constantine I's earliest coin series (Figure 11.2), for instance, struck at Londinium in the early stages of his own usurpation, clearly associated himself with Victoria.¹⁵

¹² For the panegyrist's target audience, see A. Cameron, *Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford, 1970), 228–52; a more recent study of Claudian's work is C. Ware, *Claudian and the Roman Epic Tradition* (Cambridge, 2012), 5–10. The 'organs' quotation comes from C.H.V. Sutherland, 'The Intelligibility of Roman Imperial Coin Types', *JRS* (1959), 54.

¹³ The word 'type', in relation to Roman coins, refers to the central or dominant reverse design, for example an emperor standing, with his foot on a captive.

¹⁴ D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1987), 116.

¹⁵ To 'strike' coins means the physical act of stamping coinage using a die. A die is one of two metal pieces used to strike one side of a coin with an inverse version of the desired image, e.g. the goddess Victory. For Constantine I as a *tyrannus*, the most recent study is by M. Humphries, 'From Usurper to Emperor; The Politics of Legitimation in the Age of Constantine I', *JLA* 1, (2008), 85–100.



Figure 11.1 The promise of Augustan victory: *Quinarius* of Octavian Augustus, Lugdunum (Lyons) mint, c.7–6 BC

Obverse: Emperor, laureate. Legend: AVGVSTVS-DIVI-F (*Augustus Divi Filius*/Augustus, son of god). *Reverse*: Victory seated upon an *orbis*/globe (Roman Empire/world), a palm-branch in her right hand, and an eagle in her left hand. Legend: TR-POT-XVII (*Tribunicia Potestas*/Tribune of the people for the 17th time). (*RIC* I 203) Courtesy of ACR Auctions, Auction 8, Lot 457.



Figure 11.2 Constantine's eternal victory: Copper-alloy coin of Constantine I, London mint, c.310

Obverse: Emperor helmeted and draped (cloaked). Legend: IMP-CONSTANTINVS-AG (*Imperator Constantinus Augustus*). *Reverse*: Two Victories facing each other and holding a laurel wreath inscribed with VOT-PR (*Vota Populi Romani*/Vows of the Roman people) on altar. Legend: VICTORIAE-LAETAE-PRINC-PERP (*Victoriae Laetae Principium Perpetua*/Joyous victory to the eternal Prince). Exergue (the space below the field/flat undecorated area of the coin): PLN (Londinium). (*RIC* unlisted) Courtesy of Coinvac, ref. 421016.

Note: Copper-alloy is the standard modern numismatic term for bronze.

The numismatic propaganda of Constantine's numerous rivals (some of whom were former colleagues) also featured the victory coin genre. For instance, a coin series of the usurper Maxentius (Figure 11.3) shows him and the goddess Roma inside a temple that is surmounted by two crowning Victories. In this scene, Maxentius extends his right hand to accept the globe (*orbis*), indicating the Roman state, from Roma.



Figure 11.3 The world is yours: *Follis* of Maxentius, Aquileia mint, 307
 Obverse: Emperor laureate and cuirassed. Legend: IMP-C-MAXENTIVS-P-F-AVG (Imperator Maxentius Pius Felix Augustus/Emperor Maxentius Augustus, dutiful and wise). Reverse: Within a tetrastyle temple, Roma, seated on a round shield, hands the *orbis* to a standing Maxentius, who accepts it with his right hand. Maxentius' foot tramples a bound captive seated right; both Roma and Maxentius hold sceptres. The temple's *acroteria* is decorated with two crowning Victories and there is a she-wolf and twins in the pediment. Legend: CONSERV-VRB-SVAE (*conservator urbis suae*/the preserver of his city). Exergue: AQP (Aquileia). (*RIC* VI 113) Courtesy of benzgemz.

In the decades following the so-called 'triumph of Christianity', which Constantine I's reign ushered in, many traditional Roman pagan personifications disappeared from imperial coinage. The iconography of Victoria continued to appear on imperial coinage however, well into the twilight years of the Roman West. Victoria was not left behind but her appearance underwent several changes, some subtle, others not so. To some she represented a continued respect for traditional religious beliefs while for others she could also be interpreted as an angel of God, as demonstrated on a coin series of the usurper Vetranio (Figure 11.4).¹⁶

Theodosius I (379–95)

After the annihilation of the eastern Roman field army by the Visigoths at Adrianople in 378 where Emperor Valens also perished, his replacement, Theodosius I, brokered a peace deal with the barbarians. Part of Theodosius' celebrations for restoring a stability of sorts included the striking of a coin series

¹⁶ A.R. Bellinger and M.A. Berlincourt, 'Victory as a Coin Type', *ANS* 149 (New York, 1962), 62–3.

(Figure 11.5) depicting himself atop a ship's prow accompanied by Victoria, who, seated at the tiller, guides the ship of state to calmer waters.



Figure 11.4 The old gods and the new: *Centenionalis* of the usurper Vetranio, Siscia mint, 350

Obverse: Vetranio laureate, bearded, draped and cuirassed. Legend: D-N-VETRA-NIO-P-F-AVG (*Dominus Noster Vetranio Pius Felix Augustus*/Our Lord Vetranio, dutiful and wise Augustus). *Obverse:* Emperor standing and wearing military dress, holding *labarum* (military standard with Christian symbol, the Chi-Rho) in his right hand, a spear in his left hand, Victory standing behind, crowning emperor with a wreath in her right hand, a palm-branch in her left hand. Legend: HOC-SIG-NO-VICTOR-ERIS (In this sign you will conquer). Field: A. Exergue: SIS (Siscia/Sisak, Croatia) – *(*officina*/mint workshop mark). (RIC VIII 283) Courtesy of Numismatik Lanz München.

Over the course of his 16-year reign, Theodosius faced multiple internal challenges to his authority. The most serious of these was the usurpation of Magnus Maximus (383–88), a man described by Orosius as possessed of the necessary qualities for rule but lacking in moral legitimacy by the very fact of his treason.¹⁷ For a time, Theodosius accepted the usurper as his colleague who publicised this concordat and sought to justify his claims on the throne through a gold coin series (Figure 11.6) issued from the London mint. Inevitably Theodosius and Maximus went to war and the usurper was suppressed. Orosius ascribed Theodosius' victory to the emperor's trust and faith in the Christian God who, in Orosius' eyes, had abandoned Maximus. Through divine assistance Theodosius had apparently gained

¹⁷ Oros. VII. 34. 9: *Maximus, uir quidem strenuus et probus atque Augusto dignus nisi contra sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emersisset*/Maximus, a courageous man who deserved to be emperor had he not risen to it through usurpation, against his oath of allegiance; Orosius, *Historia aduersum paganos libri VII*, ed. C. Zangemeister, CSEL 5 (Vienna, 1882).



Figure 11.5 Steering the ship of state: Copper-alloy coin of Theodosius I, Antioch mint, 378–83

Obverse: Theodosius, pearl-diademed (wearing a type of headband which, in this case, is made of pearls) and helmeted, draped and cuirassed, holding a spear and a shield. Legend: D-N- THEODO-SIVS-P-F-AVG (*Dominus Noster Theodosius Pius Felix Augustus/Our Lord Theodosius, dutiful and wise Augustus*). Reverse: Emperor standing on a galley, his right hand raised, Victory seated at the helm. Field: A wreath in the left part of the field. Legend: GLORIA-ROMANORVM (The Glory of Rome). Exergue: ANN (Antioch) – Γ (*officina*). (RIC IX40e) Courtesy of www.cngcoins.com.



Figure 11.6 Maximus' claim of accord with Theodosius I: *Solidus* of Magnus Maximus, Treveri (Trier) mint, c.383–88

Obverse: Magnus Maximus, rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed. Legend: D-N-MAG-MA-XIMVS-P-F-AVG (*Dominus Noster Magnus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus/Our Lord Magnus Maximus, dutiful and wise Augustus*). Reverse: Maximus and Theodosius seated upon throne, holding the *orbis* between them in their right hands as an expression of unity. Victory soars above, her outstretched wings symbolise divine protection. A palm-branch below the two rulers indicates peace and accord. Legend: VICTOR-IA-AVGG (*Victoria Augustorum/Victory of the Augusti*). Exergue: TR (Treveri) – OB (*Obryziacum* = pure/fine gold). (RIC IX 77b) Courtesy of Hess-Divo AG, Auction 307, Lot 1790.

a bloodless victory.¹⁸ The panegyrist Pacatus lauded Theodosius and alluded to the goddess Victoria as part-inspiration for his success.¹⁹ Theodosius marked his victory over Maximus through a coin series (Figure 11.7) issued soon after the usurper's execution. These coins' obverses bear the inscription *Salus Reipublicae* and have a Chi-Rho in the left field. The reverse shows Victoria advancing, almost as though she were an avenging angel, with a trophy on her shoulder and dragging a captive (possibly meant to represent Maximus) behind her. This coin series announces that Theodosius has restored the health of the body politic. The traitor has been punished and justice has been served.



Figure 11.7 Healing the state: Copper-alloy coin of Theodosius I, Antioch mint, c.388
Obverse: Theodosius, pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed. Legend: D-N-THEODOSIVS-P-F-AVG (*Dominus Noster Theodosius Pius Felix Augustus/Our Lord Theodosius, dutiful and wise Augustus*). *Reverse*: Victory advancing, a trophy in her right hand over her shoulder, dragging a captive by his hair in her left hand. Field: Chi-Rho symbol. Legend: SALVS-REI-PVBLICAE (Health of the State). Exergue: ANT (Antioch)-Δ (*officina* mark). (RIC IX 67b/70a) Courtesy of www.cngcoins.com.

The Heirs of Theodosius (395–423)

In the years following Theodosius' death in 395 there was a dramatic increase in insurrections. This was partly due to the weak rule of his sons Arcadius and Honorius whose inner circles, to the detriment of the state, vied with each other for wealth and position. Most of the rebellions and usurpations in this period occurred within Honorius' western dominion.²⁰ While there were some attempts at seizing power in the east, these lacked the military character of the western usurpations.²¹ The earliest challenge to

¹⁸ Ibid. VII. 35. 3–5: *incruentam uictoriam*.

¹⁹ *Pan. Lat.* 2. 39. 1; *Panegyrici Latini*, ed. Mynors, tr. C.E.V. Nixon and B.S. Rodgers, (Berkeley, 1994).

²⁰ Wardman says that 'usurpation was an activity promoted by the western armies'; Wardman, 'Usurpers and Internal Conflicts', 234.

²¹ Arcadius' praetorian prefect Rufinus attempted usurpation in 395 but did not get far with his ambitions and was executed; Claud. *Ruf.* 2.343–9. The chamberlain Eutropius overstepped his authority and was eliminated in 399 but he did not ever try to claim the

Honorius came in 397 when the *comes Africae*, Gildo, rebelled and interfered with North African corn shipments (*annona*) to Italy.²² Claudian informs us that it was provocateurs from the eastern empire who seduced Gildo into transferring his allegiance, and, crucially, the North African *annona* to Constantinople.²³ The revolt did not last long, for the western military response was swift and overwhelming.²⁴ Honorius' authority was reimposed upon North Africa, at least for a time. While technically a rebel, Gildo was cast by Claudian as a *tyrannus* thus putting him in the same category as the usurpers Magnus Maximus and Eugenius.²⁵ What really marks Gildo out from usurpers however, as mentioned earlier, is that he did not strike his own money.²⁶ Honorius' numismatic commemoration of Gildo's defeat is found on the obverse of a *tremissis* (Figure 11.8) minted at Milan showing Victoria advancing. Once more, as with those coins of Vetrano and Theodosius I we have seen, traditional beliefs merge with the emergent Christian religion. Victoria holds a wreath in her left hand while supporting a *globus cruciger* in her right hand, suggesting a handover of power from an old to a new deity.



Figure 11.8 Victory with Christianity: *Tremissis* of Honorius, Milan mint, 398
Obverse: Honorius diademed, draped and cuirassed Legend: D-N-HONORI-VS-P-F-AVG (*Dominus Noster Pius Felix Augustus/Our Lord Honorius, dutiful and wise Augustus*).
Reverse: Victory advancing, holding a wreath in her left hand, a *globus cruciger* (*orbis* topped by a cross) in her right hand. Legend: VICTORIA-AVGVSTORVVM. Field: M-D (Mediolanum/Milan). Exergue: COM (*Comitatus* = imperial mint). (*RIC* X 1215) Courtesy of www.cngcoins.com.

imperial title; Zos. V 17.5–18.3. The Gothic commander Gainas made perhaps the most concerted effort to usurp the eastern throne. His efforts were short-lived and in 400 he was killed; Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, ed. and tr. F. Paschoud (Paris, 1971–2000), V 18.4–22.3.

²² Shaw has recently challenged the accepted view of Gildo's prevention of the *annona* to Rome but his argument is unconvincing. B.D. Shaw, *Sacred Violence; African Christians and Sectarian Hatred in the Age of Augustine* (Cambridge, 2011), 46–50.

²³ Claud. *Gild.* 277–8: *illinc edicta meabant corruptura duces*/from there (Constantinople) came edicts to seduce [our] generals.

²⁴ Ibid. 9–16.

²⁵ Ibid. 465–6: *tertia iam solito cervix mucrone rotetur tandem funereis finem positura tyrannis*/by the sword sever the head of this third usurper and finally put an end to this series of deadly usurpation.

²⁶ There is some dispute over whether Gildo did or did not strike coinage. See R. Turcan, 'Trésors monétaires trouvés à Tipasa', *Libyca* 51 (1961), 201–12.

Claudian's panegyric in honour of Honorius' sixth consulship in 404 aptly mirrors the iconography of Victoria so common to Late Imperial coinage. In the following passage, the poet pays homage to the goddess for her help in restoring peace and stability to the empire:

Winged Victory herself was present in her temple (the senate house), faithful guardian of Rome, her splendid wings nourish the assembled fathers in their sanctuary and likewise an unwearied devotee to you (Honorius), to Rome and to your army, now and for all time.²⁷

Such poetic sentiment was, unfortunately, not reciprocated by the reality about to descend upon the Roman world. Claudian disappears from the historical narrative around 404 and there are no known later works of his delivered for Honorius at the imperial court of Ravenna. What veneer the poet would have painted over the remainder of Honorius' calamitous reign we cannot know. In the years following, the twin, unrestrained horrors of barbarian invasion and civil war were unleashed upon the empire's populace. Swift victories of the kind achieved against Gildo were to be in short supply in the fifth century.

Constantine III (407–11)

In 406–7 the army in Britain revolted and produced a trio of usurpers. Of these, Constantine III was the longest lived.²⁸ Like any other emperor, legitimate or usurper, Constantine required money to pay his forces.²⁹ Troops expected new emperors to distribute donatives as reward for their support.³⁰ Loyalty was bought thus. Having access to a mint and to gold and silver bullion from which to mint coins

²⁷ Claud. *VI. Cons.* 597–602: *Adfuit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis, Romanae tutela togae, quae diuite pinna patricii reuerenda fouet sacraria coetus castrorum quae eadem comes indefessa tuorum nunc tandem fruitur iunctis, atque omne futurum te Romae sese que tibi promittit in aeuum.* Cameron maintains that it is the statue of Victory in the senate house to which the poet refers; Cameron, *Poetry and Propaganda*, 239–40.

²⁸ For the most recent treatment of Constantine III see J.F. Drinkwater, 'The Usurpers Constantine III (407–411) and Jovinus (411–413)', *Britannia* 29 (1998), 269–98; cf. M. Kulikowski, 'Barbarians in Gaul, Usurpers in Britain', *Britannia* 3 (2000), 325–45.

²⁹ For analysis of Constantine III's coinage see J. Lafaurie, 'La chronologie des monnaies de Constantin II et de Constant II', *RN* (1953), 37–65; É. Demougeot, 'Constantin III, l'empereur d'Arles', *L'Empire Romain et les Barbares D'Occident, IV^e – VII^e siècle* (Montpellier, 1974), 171–213; P. Bastien, *Le monnayage de l'atelier de Lyon: du règne de Jovien à la mort de Jovin (363–413)*, vol. 6 (Wetteren, 1987).

³⁰ See Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe*, 120–7, for the sporadic nature of Late Roman military payment.

was vital if Constantine's imperial bid had any chance of success.³¹ The ability to mint coins en masse would allow for Constantine's propaganda portraying him as a viable imperial guardian to be disseminated via the *cursus publicus* throughout those provinces most affected by recent barbarian devastation. In the spring of 407 Constantine sailed to Gaul and set about establishing himself there.³² The first city he occupied was Lyons where he reopened the mint, which had been closed for over a decade, and from there he struck his earliest currency (Figure 11.9).³³ This coin group contain a rather unique reverse legend. Four Gs (VICTORIA-AAVGGGG) on the obverse represent the *Victoria Augusti* of Constantine III and the legitimate emperors Honorius, Arcadius and Arcadius' son Theodosius II.³⁴



Figure 11.9 Victory of the four Augusti: *Solidus* of Constantine III, Lyons mint, c.407–408

Obverse: Constantine rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed. Legend: D-N-CONSTAN-TINVS-P-F-AVG (*Dominus Noster Constantinus Pius Felix Augustus/Our Lord Constantine, dutiful and wise Augustus*). Reverse: Emperor standing, wearing military dress and trampling a captive, a *labarum* is in his right hand; in his left hand he holds the *orbis* with a small Victory on top of this which crowns him. Legend: VICTORIA-AAVGGGG (*Victoria Augustorum*). Field: L-D (Lugdunum/Lyons). Exergue: COM (*Comitatus*) – OB (*Obryziacum*). (RIC X 1507) Courtesy of www.cngcoins.com.

³¹ Why Constantine III did not mint money in Britain is unclear, especially since Magnus Maximus had been able to achieve this in the 380s. While it was possible to establish a fresh mint in cities which had not originally been established imperial minting centres it was probably easier to reopen a mint where there had been a minting tradition. Usually mint-cities which were closed retained a reserve minting staff in the event that central government wished to recommence minting from those centres.

³² Olymp. fr. 13; Zos. VI, 1–2; IX 11. 3. The imperial mints of Lyons, Arles and Trier had been closed since 395; *Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, eds Grierson, P. and Mays, M., *Catalogue of Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whitmore Collection* (Washington DC, 1992), 59–60, 62–3, 68–9.

³³ RIC IX 271; Lafaurie, *La chronologie*, 37–65; *idem*, *Solidus de Constantin*, 22–6; Bastien, 71–5.

³⁴ One letter G in the coin legend represents a reigning emperor.

Through these early coins, Constantine III promoted himself as a legitimate member of the imperial *collegia* and a co-guarantor of eternal Roman victory. After the death of Emperor Arcadius in May 408 a shift occurred in Constantine's *Victoria Augusti* numismatic propaganda (Figure 11.10). The four Gs legend (AAAVGGGG) was replaced by three Gs (AAVGGG) signifying the changed political climate with just Constantine, Honorius and Theodosius II in power.



Figure 11.10 The promise of Constantine's victory: *Solidus* of Constantine III, Arles mint, after 408

Obverse: Constantine, pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed. Legend: D-N-CONSTANTINVS-P-F-AVG (*Dominus Noster Constantinus Pius Felix Augustus*/Our Lord Constantine, dutiful and wise Augustus). *Reverse*: Constantine standing, trampling captive, holding a labarum in his right hand, an orbis surmounted with Victory crowning him in his left hand. Legend: VICTORI-A-AAVGGG (*Victoria Augustorum*). Field: A-R (Arelate/Arles). Exergue: COM (*Comitatus*) – OB (*Obryziacum*). (RIC X 1517) Courtesy of Coinvac, ref. 393946

Constantine was defeated, executed, and beheaded in late 411. His severed head, previously a symbol of his imperial status adorning his coinage, went on a grisly tour of western cities. Constantine's visage became instead a wretched reminder of the price of treason. Honorius, meanwhile, had the problem of rampant barbarian war-bands and yet more usurpers to contend with. According to Orosius, the emperor was so overwhelmed by these challenges that he enlisted the aid of a capable soldier, the *magister militum* Constantius.³⁵ Honorius and Constantius then embarked on a simple strategy, which was to deal with the usurpers first before tackling the barbarians.³⁶ The plan worked well enough for suppressing the usurpers but less so against the barbarians.

³⁵ This is the future emperor Constantius III who reigned for just a year in 421.

³⁶ Oros. VII. 42. 1: *Honorius imperator, uidens tot oppositis tyrannis nihil aduersus barbaros agi posse, ipsos prius tyrannos deleri iubet*/Emperor Honorius, considering that

Honorius' Triumph

Orosius was convinced that it was Honorius' pious Christian faith and exceptional good fortune which had allowed the emperor to triumph over his domestic enemies.³⁷ Perhaps so, but Honorius also had the financial resources to persuade the soldiers and supporters of the usurpers to defect to his cause. Where the amount of gold needed to sustain the minting of new coinage for military pay and the bribing of barbarians came from at this juncture is a matter of current debate.³⁸

Honorius held several triumphs in Rome and in Ravenna. He also celebrated his victories over the usurpers numismatically through the victory coin genre. However, an ideological and stylistic, albeit temporary, departure emerged in one particular gold series (Figure 11.11) issued not long after his brother Arcadius' death in 408. The goddess Victoria is absent from this coin type. Instead she has been replaced by the hand of God, '*manus Dei*', which crowns the emperor with a laurel wreath from heaven.³⁹ Honorius holds a Christogram in his right hand, a sword ready to be drawn by his left hand.⁴⁰ The emperor stands trampling a lion with a serpent's tail, a creature likely representative of the plethora of rebels, usurpers and other internal enemies who had arisen and challenged Honorius' position since his coming to power in 395.⁴¹ The coin's obverse shows a bearded Honorius (on most of his other coinage, both before and after this time period, he is depicted clean-shaven), which could be viewed as an indication of mourning for his brother, or it could equally have been a propagandist gesture demonstrating his age, his maturity and his resolve in dealing with Rome's enemies. The most significant aspect about Honorius' *manus Dei* coin type is not Victoria's absence but the fact that she continued to feature on imperial coinage, which implies that Roman society was not yet ready to give up all of its ancient customs. The *manus Dei* coin type genre reappeared intermittently during the fifth century in the west but it was the depiction of Victoria that remained by far one of the more popular Late Roman coin genres.

he could do nothing against the barbarians when so many usurpers were ranged against him, decreed that the usurpers must first be crushed.

³⁷ Ibid. VII. 42. 15: *optima Honorius imperator religione et felicitate meruit*.

³⁸ It is envisaged that once G. Bevan and R. Burgess' WDXRF (Wavelength-Dispersive X-ray Fluorescence) research achieves completion we may know the source of Late Roman gold. The WDXRF technique is a non-destructive coin analysis process that can determine the chemical composition of metals such as gold and therefore its origins.

³⁹ On Late Roman coins the *manus Dei* is depicted as a hand reaching down from above, often holding a halo above the head of either an emperor or empress. The *manus Dei* also occurs in Late Antique literature, Eun. fr. 68; Eunapius of Sardis, fragments, ed. Blockley, *FCH*, vol.2.

⁴⁰ A Christogram is a monogram depicting the Chi-Rho symbol. On coins it is often shown being engraved upon a shield or on a *labarum*.

⁴¹ On the use of the serpent in Late Antique coinage and art, see J. Bardill, *Constantine; Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2013), xvii, 143–4.



Figure 11.11 Crowned by the hand of God: *Solidus* of Honorius, Ravenna mint, after 408

Obverse: A bearded Honorius, helmeted and pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed. Legend: D-N-HONORI-VS-P-F-AVG (*Dominus Noster Honorius Pius Felix Augustus/Our Lord Honorius, dutiful and wise Augustus*). Reverse: Emperor standing and facing, holding a Chi-Rho standard in his right hand while his left hand rests upon the hilt of his sword; Honorius is crowned with a laurel wreath by the *manus Dei*, his right foot is placed upon the neck of recumbent serpent-tailed lion. Legend: VICTORI-A-AVGGG (*Victoria Augustorum*). Field: R-V (Ravenna). Exergue: C (*Comitatus*) – OB (*Obryziacum*). (RIC X 1310) Courtesy of *Numismatica Ars Classica*, NAC AG, Auction 75, Lot 370

Conclusion

By Honorius' reign, the iconography of Victoria upon coinage assumed a more illusory quality. The victory coin genre was, among other propagandist tools, meant to inspire the public in the face of steadily declining Roman power. The emperor's victory had always been seen as essential for the security and well-being of the state and its citizens but when an emperor failed, through negligence or weakness, in his duty to protect the state, it was of course the people who suffered. As the fifth century dawned, and still more territory slipped from Roman grasp, it must surely have been apparent, in certain quarters at least, that Roman victory was no longer certain. If emperors could not be relied upon as the guarantors of victory any more, was the continued depiction of Victoria on coinage just a way to hold on to a dream of former glory or was it an expression of hope for future triumphs?

Victoria's depiction within the panegyric genre found parallels in numismatic expression but it was through the material genre that the propaganda of the *Victoria Augusti* was conveyed on a mass-produced scale. The ubiquitous nature of coins ensured that imperial ideology journeyed into the most distant parts of the Roman world whereas panegyrics, an elite preserve, did not. The victory coinage genre represented not only military might over rebels and usurpers, but also a subtle, slow overthrow of long-established religious customs. Coinage of the Late Empire began to depict the goddess Victoria in conjunction with Christian symbols until eventually she was recognised more as an angel instead of a traditional pagan

deity. The gradual transition of this coin genre signalled a pagan retreat while, at the same time, heralding Christianity's victory.

Table 11.1 Rebels, usurpers and coinage: 306–425

Name	Date	Issued Coins	Victoria on Coinage
Constantine I (U)	306–37	Yes	Yes
Licinius (P)	308–24	Yes	Yes
Aurelius Valerius Valens (P)	316	Yes	Yes
Martinianus (P)	324–25	Yes	Yes
Maxentius (U)	306–12	Yes	Yes
L. Domitius Alexander (U)	308–10	Yes	Yes
Calocaerus (R)	333/4	No	No
Magnentius (U)	350–53	Yes	Yes
Decentius (U)	350–53	Yes	Yes
Julius Nepotianus (U)	350	Yes	Yes
Vetranio (U)	350–51	Yes	Yes
Silvanus (U)	355	No	No
Julian (U) (S)	361–63	Yes	Yes
Procopius (U)	365–66	Yes	Uncertain
Marcellus (U)	366	No	No
Firmus (R/U)	c.372–75	No	No
Magnus Maximus (U)	383–88	Yes	Yes
Eugenius (U)	392–94	Yes	Yes
Rufinus (A)	395	Uncertain	Uncertain
Gildo (A)	397–98	No	No
Marcus (U)	406/7	No	No
Gratianus (U)	406/7	No	No
Constantine III (U)	407–11	Yes	Yes
Stilicho (A)	408	No	No
Constans (U)	409/10–11	Yes	Yes
Maximus (U)	409–11	Yes	Yes
Priscus Attalus (U)	409–10, 414–15	Yes	Yes
Jovinus (U)	411–13	Yes	Yes
Sebastianus (U)	412–13	Yes	Yes
Heraclianus (R/U)	c.412–13	No	No
Johannes (U)	423–25	Yes	Yes

Note: (U) Usurper; (R) Rebel; (A) Ambiguity exists as to whether the individual can be classed as a rebel, a usurper or simply was accused of plotting to usurp imperial power; (S) Successful; (P) Posthumously decreed by law to be a usurper although having once been a legitimate ruler.

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Chapter 12

The Importance of Being Stilicho: Diptychs as a Genre¹

Alice Christ



Figure 12.1 Diptych of the Young Office Holder. Duomo, Monza, Italy. Alinari/ Art Resource, NY

¹ This chapter is in part the long-delayed fruit of Walter Dickie's gift to me of Kathleen Shelton's research notes. I am more than grateful to him. I am grateful to the Shifting Frontiers Conference, especially our session chair, John Matthews, for a lively reception of the oral version and renewed memory of Kathleen, and to Monica Visonà, David Olster, Taylor Curtis and members of the University of Kentucky Pre-modern History Colloquium, Spring 2013, for discussion of the work in progress. I also thank the International Catacomb Society for a Shoheit Scholar grant (with Janet Tulloch) which paid for the publication of the photographs.

Thirty years ago, Kathleen J. Shelton de-identified the Stilicho Diptych (Figure 12.1).² Shelton's simplest move in a long investigation of the arguments and assumptions behind the identification was to de-identify the woman standing behind the youth. If Serena, wife of Stilicho, mother of Eucherius, she should be shown as an imperial princess, the niece and adopted daughter of Theodosius I. Since she lacks any specifically imperial attribute, she is not a member of the imperial house. Hence, no Stilicho, no Eucherius, no date of 395/6, based on the fit of Stilicho's appointment as *magister utriusque militum* and the age of Eucherius with the depicted age of the boy and that year of senior and junior imperial consuls, supposedly shown on the officer's shield. These shield insignia of unequal *trabeati* provide the only objective criteria for dating: to a time of a child imperial co-consul (378, 396, 402, 407, 409, 411, 415, 418, 422, 425, 426, 430).³ The possibilities span the entire conventionally accepted range of dates for the early group of ivory diptychs, from c.370 to c.430.

The panels are hinged on their straighter edges. The outer corners of the open diptych show the slight bevel which, on the later diptychs, with their taller proportions, is commonly the hinge side. Therefore, Shelton proposes that the diptych was designed to be hinged on the opposite edges of the panels, so that the Young Office Holder would stand in the center, framed by his parents. The extant original hinges would have been inserted on the side opposite the original design because of the artist's apprehension of cracking along the grain at the top right corner, which did, in fact, occur later. Pursuing Shelton's important observations of materials and practices of facture, Cutler points out that an inner beveled edge is not a design desideratum for hinges (as she still considered possible), but the result of cutting the ivory panel from the maximum possible length of carvable tusk.⁴ About half the early western diptychs for which hinging can be determined do not show the later convention of symmetrical placement of beveled inner corners.⁵ So it is perhaps ironic that Shelton's proposal to switch the panels has

² 'The Diptych of the Young Office Holder', *JbAC* 25 (1982), 132–71.

³ *Ibid.*, 160–62, argues the *trabeati* may not be co-consuls (accepted by B. Kiilerich and H. Torp, 'Hic est: hic Stilicho: the date and interpretation of a notable diptych', *Jdl* 104 [1989], 319–71, at 326–30), and may be an empress and boy emperor; rejected by A. Cameron, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (Oxford, 2011), 733–4. Years of simply a child co-emperor: 378–9 (Valens and Valentinian II); 392–3 (Theodosius and Arcadius); 395–402 (Arcadius and Honorius); 408–421 (Honorius and Theodosius II); 424–430 (Theodosius II and Valentinian III).

⁴ A. Cutler, 'The Making of the Justinian Diptychs', *Byzantion* 54 (1984), 75–115, at 79–80.

⁵ Numbers in parentheses are catalogue numbers of W.F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1976): diptychs hinged on beveled edge: Probus (1), Probianus (62), Hermitage Hunts (60), Milan Maries (111); hinged with concentric grain (one straight edge, one beveled): Asclepius/Hygeia (57), Carrand (108), Bassiorum/Euplutorum; hinged on straight edge: Consecratio (56),

won general acceptance while her date and identification of the patron have met strenuous resistance.⁶

Shelton finds the closest stylistic comparison in the Carrand diptych (Figure 12.2), conventionally dated around 430, and iconographic allusions to Spes, the woman with the flower, in coinage and the arts dating to the early fifth century. Therefore, the Young Office Holder, too, should be dated to the early fifth century and belongs to some anonymous family of the military and courtly elite. Like the Proiecta casket of the Esquiline Treasure, the diptych of the Young Office Holder represents not a special political (or religious) statement at a moment in a retrievable individual biography documented by texts, but precious surviving evidence of a generic cultural practice.⁷

Unlike the debate on the Esquiline Treasure, Shelton was not able to defend her argument against Stilicho, for Kiilerich and Torp acclaimed the old certainties on the eve of her untimely death in March 1990.⁸ How she would have answered must remain forever unknown. However, scholarship owes her a serious reconsideration of her argument on the Young Office Holder diptych and more especially of her contribution to the study of the diptychs as a genre. 'The Young Office Holder' was a challenge not only to a received chronology, but also and more importantly to attendant conclusions about privileged patronage and the political intent of 'official' diptychs.

Liverpool Venatio (59), Felix (2), Severo, Nicomachorum/Symmachorum? (55). These observations are incomplete, but indicate that the aesthetic convention developed with the later use of symmetrical grain from the largest possible slice of tusk on either side of the pulp cavity.

⁶ B. Kiilerich and H. Torp, 'Hic est', 319–71; N.B. Kampen, 'Stilicho's Troubled Kinship', in *Family Fictions in Roman Art* (Cambridge, 2009), 123–38, at 123–5.

⁷ K.J. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure* (London, 1981). If Proiecta was not the same Proiecta who was buried as a new bride under an epitaph of Pope Damasus dated to 383, then the date of the ownership and deposition of the Treasure cannot be determined by the epitaph. The Pelegrina Turcii, who owned other pieces of the Treasure, may mean it is in fact Secundus who can be identified more reliably as a Turcius, a family represented in the mid-fourth-century prosopographical evidence of the great Roman aristocrats. The style and prosopography of the Treasure support a broader and earlier range of dates, from 330 to 370, for the assembly of the range of pieces in the deposit, and the Treasure can no longer be treated as Theodosian classicism.

⁸ A. Cameron, 'The Date and the Owners of the Esquiline Treasure', *AJA* 89 (1985), 133–45, followed by B. Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts: Studies in the So-called Theodosian Renaissance*, Odense University Classical Studies 18 (1993); K.J. Shelton, 'The Esquiline Treasure: The Nature of the Evidence', *AJA* 89 (1985), 147–55.

The Stilicho Argument

Kiilerich and Torp are correct that redating the diptych would have ‘not unimportant general art historical consequences’⁹ and would indeed contribute to knowledge of the genre. The particular consequences Kiilerich and Torp are determined to refute would be to withdraw a major document of the theory of Theodosian classicism and to extend the chronological range of styles related to the obelisk base and the missorium, thereby diluting Kitzinger’s narrative¹⁰ of a dialectical stylistic evolution of alternating classicistic and abstract tendencies and eroding association of such tendencies with particular pagan or Christian ideologies. Stilicho must be defended if a detail of the diptych is to appear as cover art on Kiilerich’s *Late Fourth Century Classicism in the Plastic Arts: Studies in the So-called Theodosian Renaissance*.¹¹ It will not be necessary to refute Kiilerich and Torp point by point in order to show that their method, as well as their motive, is based on a misplaced faith in the diagnostic power of stylistic ‘classicism’ for dating the ‘plastic arts’ across genres.

At first it appears they will establish antiquarian evidence in defense of Stilicho. Here one might have expected arguments against Shelton’s key claim that the woman is not imperial and therefore not Serena. Such arguments are conceivable. For example, Serena was not an Augusta; she had no coins; perhaps Claudian exaggerated her filial relationship to Theodosius I and she was not sufficiently important to the dynastic line to wear imperial regalia.¹² Alternatively, the woman’s garb might be considered appropriately imperial if an imperial identification could be proven for the Naples statue of a woman in gemmed shoes and a similar belted gown.¹³ Instead, exhaustive investigations of double emperor insignia, female hair and headdress (citing many portrait parallels, all undated), costumes and cross-bow brooches result in just what Shelton found: ‘no firm criteria for a date sufficiently precise.’ Kiilerich and Torp declare, ‘We shall have to date the work primarily on stylistic grounds.’¹⁴

⁹ Kiilerich and Torp, ‘Hic est’, 340.

¹⁰ E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (Cambridge, 1977), distilling a career-long approach. Cameron, *Last Pagans*, 737–42, shows how a date of 396 for the Young Office Holder, together with a date of 402 for both the London Consecratio and Nicomachorum/Symmachorum, can be used to argue against Kitzinger’s narrative tracing classical style from pagan, through official to Christian iconographies in the ivories. He is clearly correct that ivory style is not associated with an ideology of pagan revival.

¹¹ Odense University Classical Studies 18 (Odense, 1993).

¹² RIC; S. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta* (Chicago, 1968), 74, on use of ‘technically incorrect’ titles *basilissa* and *regina* for Serena in the *Life of Melania the Younger*.

¹³ Ensoli, Serena and Eugenio La Rocca, eds, *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana alla città cristiana* (Rome, 2000), catalogue number 259, Museo Archeologico di Napoli 6398, with a replacement head.

¹⁴ Kiilerich and Torp, ‘Hic est’, 339.

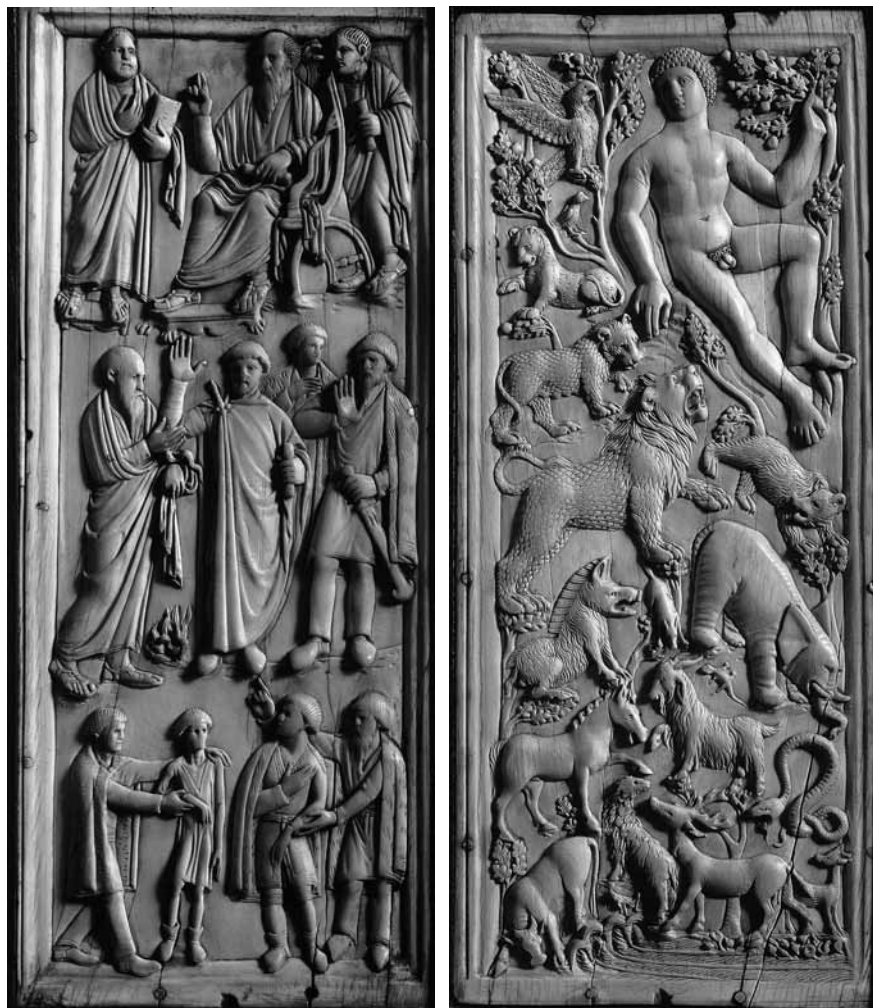


Figure 12.2 Carrand diptych: St Paul Scenes/Adam in Paradise. Bargello Museum, Florence. Alfredo Dagli Orti/The Art Archive at Art Resource, NY

Admittedly, dated ivories are few. Consular diptychs inscribed with names are the only secure source of dates. The diptych of the Young Office Holder is not very close in architectural setting, mouldings and ornament, or figural proportions to

any of them. Even among undated ivories, only the Carrand diptych (Figure 12.2) and possibly the Brescia casket may be close enough to belong to one cluster of production.¹⁵ Nevertheless, it is dubious indeed to conclude that because none of the early Western diptychs share this diptych's 'mental outlook. A spiritual climate more sophisticated than the Probus diptych ...',¹⁶ its comparanda are to be sought among Eastern works like the missorium and the obelisk base of Theodosius. The comparisons that follow rely less on traditional categories of formal analysis such as figural proportions, poses and situation in a spatial or abstract architectural setting (repeatedly acknowledged to differ from the ivory), than on characterizations of mood: 'serene quality ... sway pose ... refined, reserved elegance ... a classicistic attitude.'¹⁷

The argument for dating is ultimately based on propositions about the cultural valence and patronage group of 'Theodosian classicism' as a style quite independent of the genre of diptychs (or silver or stone relief sculpture, for that matter). Given the possibility that the missorium itself might belong to the 15th anniversary (393), rather than the 10th of Theodosius I (388) or even of Theodosius II (421 or 426),¹⁸ there is no assurance and little likelihood that the rather general descriptors it shares with the ivory must be restricted to arts of the reign of Theodosius I (379–95).¹⁹ For Kiilerich and Torp, stylistic 'classicism' renders 395–402 the only suitable years for the imperial boy consul of the shield emblem. The stylistic date explicitly precedes identifying a family group with a political statement to make in the relevant years.²⁰ In fact, it is hardly proven that the style of the diptych of the Young Office Holder is too classicistic to pertain to the time of Galla Placidia and Valentinian III, rather than that of Stilicho.

In her own latest study of the diptychs, Kinney leaves the question of dating where it has stood: 'after 250 years, [Flavius Anicius Petronius] Probus is still the only first-generation diptych on whose date (405/406) all interested parties can agree.'²¹ Kinney acknowledges that the date is arbitrary for the group she

¹⁵ Ibid., 342–4; A. Cutler, 'Of First Principles and Second Thoughts', in *Late Antique and Byzantine Ivory Carving*, (Aldershot/Brookfield, 1998), 1–8, at 7–8, on workshop and artist problems.

¹⁶ Kiilerich and Torp, 'Hic est', 344.

¹⁷ Ibid., 344–8; noted also by D. Kinney, 'First-Generation Diptychs in the Discourse of Visual Culture', in *Spätantike und byzantinische Elfenbeinbildwerke im Diskurs*, A. Effenberger, A. Cutler and G. Bühl, eds (Wiesbaden, 2008), 149–66, 157.

¹⁸ Debated in *El Disco de Teodosio*, M. Almagro-Gorbea, J.M. Alvarez Martinez, J.M. Blázquez Martínez and S. Rovira, eds (Madrid, 2000), 253–300.

¹⁹ 'tall, slender proportions, the simplicity of line, the soft and gradual rounding of the geometrically defined heads and faces, and the smooth, sensitive modeling ...', Kiilerich and Torp, 'Hic est', 346. L. Stirling, 'Theodosian "classicism": Rev. Kiilerich, *Late Fourth Century Classicism*', *JRA* 8 (1995), 535–8, for more examples of disputed 'Theodosian' dating.

²⁰ Kiilerich and Torp, 'Hic est', 350.

²¹ Kinney, 'First-Generation', 150.



Figure 12.3 Diptych of Fl. Felix, consul of 428. © BnF, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

called ‘first generation diptychs’, ‘plaques that might have been made before ... 410’.²² It captures a rough generational distance between the Probus diptych, which might be a late member of that generation, and some earlier production that would have motivated the legislation of 384 forbidding anyone but ordinary consuls to give gifts of gold, silk garments or diptychs of ivory.²³ However, it overdramatizes the problem of the Young Office Holder: Stilicho’s son in 395/6 or an unknown son of an officer of the 420s, a ‘second generation’ diptych across some developmental divide?

²² Ibid.

²³ A. Cameron, ‘A Note on Ivory Carving in Fourth Century Constantinople’, *AJA* 86 (1982), 126–9 convincingly places the law in the east.

In fact, there is no evidence to support making generational distinctions among the diptychs traditionally attributed to the West and dated loosely between 370 and 430, a span often identified in shorthand by the central date *c.*400. Dividing the early diptychs at 410 highlights the diptych of Felix, consul of 428 (Figure 12.3), as the only extant dated ‘second generation’ diptych, some 20 years after Probus. Far from documenting a change, this diptych presents evidence for continuity of iconography and design from ‘first’ through ‘second’ generation diptychs in the West. It is a near clone of a consular diptych leaf inscribed Anicius Auchenius Bassus, attested by a pottery mould and two partial relief plaques made from it. Based on similarity of format, setting, pose, costume and gesture to the diptych of Felix (Figure 12.3), consul of 428, this would surely have been identified as Anicius Auchenius Bassus, the consul of 431, but for the three imperial busts crowning his scepter, which must belong to the consul of 408.²⁴ The style of Bassus is contemporary with the style of Probus and the same design with minor variations in detail and no discernible stylistic evolution still appears 20 years later. The diptychs earlier than the 50-year gap between Felix, 427/8, and Basilius, 479/80, seem to belong to a continuous series of production in a single formal and technical tradition, if not necessarily from a single center of production. Following Shelton, they may be treated together.

Iconographies and Uses: Official, Private, Christian

The importance of being Stilicho has been exaggerated. Shelton approached the diptychs as members of a genre, rather than as documents of official iconography or prosopographic identity or period style. Her questions pertain not to stylistic classicism or courtly atmosphere, but to the conventions and inventions that suggest the purposes and meanings of those who used and understood the genre. Shelton’s ‘Young Office Holder’ study, with two companion studies, ‘The Consular Muse of Flavius Constantius’ and ‘Roman Aristocrats, Christian Commissions: The Carrand Diptych’, constituted a first move in a fundamental rethinking of the analytic categories used to explain patronage, iconography and purpose for the diptychs.²⁵ Analysis since Delbrueck begins from the consular diptychs, well documented in letters, poetry and legislation as gifts displayed in procession and distributed to friends on the occasion of assuming office.²⁶ It is not surprising that over the last century, the well-known consular examples depicting officials

²⁴ J. Spier, ‘A Lost Consular Diptych of Anicius Auchenius Bassus (A.D. 408) on the Mould for an ARS Plaque’, *JRA* 16 (2003), 350–54.

²⁵ *Art Bulletin* 65 (1983), 7–23; *JbAC* 29 (1986), 166–80.

²⁶ R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1929); A. Cutler, ‘Five lessons’; A. Cameron, ‘A Note’; D. Kinney, ‘First-Generation Diptychs in the Discourse of Visual Culture’, in *Spätantike und byzantinische Elfenbeinbildwerke im Diskurs*, A. Effenberger, A. Cutler and G. Bühl, eds (Wiesbaden, 2008), 149–66.

and games came to characterize a class of objects known as 'official diptychs', including some for lower offices and others uninscribed. However, the domination of documentation by the consular diptychs led to problems interpreting the iconographies of the rest of the genre.

As Kinney recently restates the problem, 'Stilicho' (although in quotes), Probus, Probianus, Lampadiorum and Hunts in Liverpool and the Hermitage²⁷ present 'imagery overtly appropriate to such an official function' as celebrating entry to high office. But there are almost as many diptychs that carry iconographies she characterizes as ranging 'from apparently irrelevant to actively unsuitable': Nicomachorum/Symmachorum, Asclepius/Hygeia, London Consecratio, Milan Maries and Carrand.²⁸ This perception – unexamined – gave rise to the completely undocumented hypothetical categories of 'private' and 'ecclesiastical' diptychs.²⁹ It was precisely this unexamined question that Shelton took on: what is suitable iconography for official diptychs? She chose her three diptychs strategically for the implications of their iconographies for the social purpose, patronage group and expectations of appearance and meaning for other members of the genre – the early western diptychs. Her findings broadened the range of conventional iconographies for official diptychs and imply a challenge to the whole hypothesis of private diptychs.

Kinney suggests that the uses of diptychs, and the meaning and intentionality of their iconographies, are unprovable in the current state of art historical knowledge. Dates, patronage and context of use for the diptychs must be established before attempting interpretations of intention, meaning and value.³⁰ Ultimately, this caution is irreproachable. Nevertheless, although two of Shelton's three studies do not result in patrons and dates, they clarify and challenge existing assumptions about patronage, context of use, cultural values and the intention and meaning of iconographies. Rather than abandon art history for the 'ahistorical and reductive' visual studies approach Kinney describes as an alternative or supplementary method when art history has reached its limits, genre studies can extend those limits.³¹ As in Shelton's previous work in this vein, it may be a matter of establishing a range of possibilities, rather than nailing down dates and patrons.

It is notable that already among Kinney's 'overtly appropriate' imagery, neither the Hermitage Hunts (Figure 12.4) nor Probus shows officials. Probus' consular

²⁷ Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 63, 1, 62, 54, 59, 60.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 55, 57, 56, 111, 108.

²⁹ Historiography in Shelton; D. Kinney, 'A Late Antique Ivory Plaque and Modern Response', *AJA* 98 (1994), 457–72; *eadem*, 'The Iconography of the Ivory Diptych Nicomachorum-Symmachorum', *JbAC* 37 (1994), 64–96; A. Cutler, 'Five Lessons in Late Roman Ivory', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993), 1–23, at 15–20.

³⁰ Kinney, 'First-Generation', 150.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 159. Justified uncertainty at the limits of art historical knowledge is not the counsel of despair of which Kiilerich and Torp, 'Hic est', 340, accuse Shelton.

inscription ensures its imagery is appropriately official. The image of an emperor must be appropriate consular iconography. The portrait of a patron, possibly a recipient of the diptych, may join the likely official iconographies on the strength of this example.³² The Hermitage Lion Hunts (Figure 12.4) are surely admitted by tacit analogy with Liverpool's Stag Hunt in the presence of officials, together with the well-documented fact that hunts pertain to the occasions when officials distribute diptychs: entering office, sponsoring games. These are inferences based on iconography and notions of the occasion of use, but it is not unjustified to make them.

Shelton's 'Consular Muse of Flavius Constantius' finds the records of an inscribed consular diptych, like Probus, not showing an official. Flavius Constantius, consul of 417, like Stilicho, was one of the new military service nobles, married into the imperial family, and an engaged Christian. It shows that the iconography of a Muse is not evidence for a class of private diptychs, as proposed in the past. It must belong among the iconographies of identification with classical education and culture common on contorniate medallions issued, like ivory diptychs, for distribution at Roman games. Like hunts, muses, and, with them, poets and philosophers, are neither irrelevant nor inappropriate on official diptychs.

'Roman Aristocrats, Christian Commissions' interprets the Carrand diptych (Figure 12.2) as a Christian version of the same messages conveyed on 'official' diptychs with iconography of hunts and cultural allusions. Adam in Paradise as a paradigm for the New Testament miracle of Paul's immunity to the serpent had become an exegetical commonplace by the early fifth century. But Shelton proposes that the answer to her questions about why and how the scenes arrived on a diptych lies not in sermons, but in the generic messages of diptychs and in the habits of their designers and users. The back panel, to be read first when open, uses compositional devices and iconographic types for the teaching Paul similar to scenes of philosophers. Dress, hairstyle and significant gesture similar to those of the Young Office Holder himself (Figure 12.1) characterize the Roman official of the central miracle. The front, possibly by a different designer, is more similar to the Hunts (Figure 12.4). In a visual culture move before visual culture, Shelton postulates that these shared design conventions make the meaning of the Christian scenes intelligible to the users, precisely because they evoke the conventional expected meanings of diptychs. The particular handling of commonplace Christian lore conveys traditional aristocratic values related to holding office and giving games: identification with philosophical education, celebration of powers of speech, mastery of animals, and auguries for safety and well-being. Why should not the occasion for distributing it be the same: an accession to public office, or at

³² The C[.?]L. Severo Patrono leaf, therefore, must be understood as potentially a portrait of the recipient of another official diptych, possibly offered to Caius Libius Severus, emperor of the West (461–65): A. Cutler, 'Five Lessons', fig. 2; 5; 15–16.



Figure 12.4 Hermitage Hunts diptych. Hermitage, St Petersburg, Russia. HIP/ Art Resource, NY

least, a giving of games? ‘Christian’ diptychs, too, may be neither ecclesiastical nor private, but official.

These studies sowed the seeds of doubt resulting in Kinney’s explicit refusal to speculate on the intention, meaning and value of the iconography not only of Nicomachorum/Symmachorum, but of the whole group she called ‘first generation diptychs’.³³ Cameron, in contrast, proposes to assign the iconographies of Nicomachorum/Symmachorum, the lost Fauvel panel and the London Consecratio, supposedly ‘irrelevant’ or ‘actively unsuitable’ for officials, to the hypothetical category of ‘private diptychs’ for ‘shared family occasions’, among which he adds funerals to the traditionally accepted weddings.³⁴ Largely on the grounds of Kore with down-turned torches, Cameron proposes to date Nicomachorum/Symmachorum to double funerary commemorations by Memmius Symmachus in 402, of Nicomachus Flavianus and Q. Aurelius Symmachus. The related priestess iconography of the lost Fauvel leaf seems to him another in the series and the double eagles and possible Symmachorum of the monogram lead him to attach the Consecratio leaf to the same event. We receive three separate souvenirs of a private family event, of a kind never documented to entail gifts of diptychs, while apparently not a single one of the documented diptychs sent to Flavianus for distribution in 393, or those to be expected for Symmachus’ consular year of 391 or Flavianus’ of 394, or Memmius’ praetorship in 401, has survived?

Of course, most diptychs have not survived. This, together with the puzzling fact that some consular diptychs of sixth-century eastern consuls do survive in multiple copies,³⁵ encourages scholars to suppose that the early western diptychs require more particularized interpretation, as if they were not equally serial productions within a conventional genre. However, the African red slipware moulds and copies of diptychs show that the early western diptychs, too, repeated designs and doubtless were issued in multiples. The evidence of the Bassus and Felix (Figure 12.3) panels for use of the same diptych design with minor variations for different patrons over a 20-year span militates against the appealing economy of Cameron’s proposal that the Fauvel leaf invokes Mercury and Apollo at Memmius’ belated funerary commemoration of the politically rehabilitated family patriarchs.³⁶ It suggests instead that a *Pietas*, a sacrificing priestess, characterized by variable settings and attributes may be another standard diptych type with currency over some extended period for various patrons. *Pietas*, like the Young Office Holder’s *Spes*, originates possibly in a statue, documented

³³ Kinney, ‘First Generation’, 150; *eadem*, ‘The Iconography’.

³⁴ A. Cameron, ‘A New Late Antique Ivory: The Fauvel Panel’, *AJA* 99 (1984), 397–402; *idem*, *Last Pagans*, 714–30, with the added suggestion that the Milan Maries and Munich Ascension may be for private Christian funerals, 740–42.

³⁵ For example, Anastasius, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 18 and 21; Clementinus and reinscribed Orestes, Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 15 and 31.

³⁶ *Last Pagans*, 728–30.



Figure 12.5 Lampadiorum diptych. Museo Civico dell'età cristiana, Brescia, Italy. Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, NY

in a coin type, in this case, one related to iconography of a sacrificing female labeled *Diva Faustina Aug* on contorniates.³⁷ It returns us to the realm of games and festivals.

Dates and Private Diptychs

Cameron rather tendentiously maintains that all magistrate diptychs are 'private' because commissioned by magistrates as private gifts merely to take credit for

³⁷ Kinney, 'Iconography', 69–71; Cameron, *Last Pagans*, 715.

giving games upon taking office.³⁸ This corresponds exactly to the definition of ‘official’ diptychs employed in the present study. This study uses the term ‘private’ in the conventional way to refer to the type of occasion Cameron calls ‘shared family events’, for which he proposes diptychs might be given.³⁹ Cameron’s dates, so well documented prosopographically, would not have been proposed without the category of ‘private’ diptychs. Cameron tries to buttress the category by the argument that only a ‘shared family event’ would explain the inscriptions joining two family names in the genitive. On this hypothesis, the surviving Lampadiorum leaf showing a suffect consul in a year with junior and senior imperial co-consuls (Figure 12.5), together with its lost mate inscribed Rufiorum, is a souvenir of a wedding between a Lampadius and a Rufia.⁴⁰ The hypothesis enables Cameron to track the prosopographical probabilities back from Rufius Lampadius, *praefectus urbis Romae* 445, a probable offspring of both families, likely born around 400, likely of a father of an age to be suffect consul in 396.⁴¹ Lampadiorum ostensibly depicts the young Lampadius between two elder relatives executing the single known responsibility of a suffect consul, to present the games for the *Natalis Urbis*, 21 April 396. As family wedding iconography, Cameron suggests the suffect consul at the races should be paired with a scene pertaining to the proposed Rufia, such as a toilette of the bride.⁴²

This is moderately hard to imagine as a counterpart to an iconography entirely ‘overtly appropriate’ to an official diptych. Cameron here fails to acknowledge that if Nicomachorum/Symmachorum is funereal rather than ‘nuptial’, there are no extant examples of nuptial iconography on a diptych with double genitive names.⁴³ In this discussion, it seems that Cameron’s ‘shared family event’ is elided into a private event in the common sense of the word, a wedding or funeral, as if there could be no shared public family events. It is simpler to suggest that the magistrate iconography of the Lampadiorum/Rufiorum inscription is evidence that genitive double names may commemorate a joint official family event, the same kind of event for which diptychs are a part of the attested distributions. Taking office and giving games are both such public events. To propose that allied families might both have young magistrates in the same year might require too much special pleading. However, in order to justify resorting to ‘private, shared family events’ as an occasion for giving diptychs we would first have to know that allied families

³⁸ *Last Pagans*, 710.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 716; 732.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 730–37; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 54.

⁴¹ Rather than the *praefectus urbis Romae* 403–408 who would be of an age to have a suffect consul son in the 380s.

⁴² *Last Pagans*, 732.

⁴³ Euplutorum/Bassiorum has shallow recessed interiors, but is carved with the inscriptions only on the outer faces: Cutler, ‘Five Lessons’, 16–17; figs 10 and 11. There is no recorded Bassius and one Euplутius, *agens in rebus* who escorted Galla Placidia back from the Visigoths in 418 in *PLRE* II, 426.

never collaborated on sponsoring games. Cameron's own idea that the cost of praetorian games was deliberately reduced in the east by simply doubling the number of praetors suggests that there *were* occasions for joint sponsorship of games.⁴⁴ The Liverpool Hunt, Lampadiorum itself, and further African evidence of multiple magistrates in the circus tribunal⁴⁵ support the hypothesis that inscriptions might sometimes specify double sponsors of a spectacle.

What is the understood substantive of the genitive likely to be? *Dignitas Eusebiorum* is documented on a consular spoon with a Muse.⁴⁶ The Young Office Holder (Figure 12.1), with a parent on each panel, suggests a visual counterpart to an inscription of two genitives, for which the substantive might be a personal name of the youth, or even *Spes*. The African red slipware copy of a diptych inscribed 'Felix Festus gives a show of wild beasts' suggests the referent might be the spectacle given and the substantive something like *missio*.⁴⁷ There are no documents for nuptial or funerary terms.⁴⁸ The problem for the Lampadiorum panel is, of course, that it would return to being datable only to the same range as the diptych of the Young Office Holder, years of an imperial child consul.

According to the received categories, 'official' diptychs are for officials with games: *consul ordinarius*, *praefectus urbis Romae*, *praetor*, *quaestor*, suffect consul. Cameron argues that all hunts without officials in consular costume show praetoral games and all diptychs with three magistrates are for praetors or suffect consuls, whose games were sponsored by their fathers. He also points out 'official' diptychs made for offices without games: *vicarius urbis Romae*, an office for which diptychs were made for young Rufius Probianus; and *tribunus et notarius*, the office of Eucherius in 396 and still the likely first post of the Young Office Holder.⁴⁹ It is not clear whether the existence of diptychs implies games contributed voluntarily. We also have games apparently without officials: Felix Festus gives a spectacle while listing no official title. Possibly the early western diptychs pertain more to the distribution event than to public office, although public office of a youth might be a useful occasion for a family benefaction.

There are a great many games in the Roman Calendar of 354 without documented magisterial sponsors. Some had fallen out of use by the mid-fifth century, but there are still some 100 days of games in the Calendar of Polemius

⁴⁴ 'A Note', 126–7.

⁴⁵ Three magistrates preside on the Benaki red slipware plaque imitating or directly moulded from a diptych: J. W. Salomonson, 'Kunstgeschichtliche und ikonographische Untersuchungen zu einem Tonfragment der Sammlung Benaki in Athen', *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 48 (1973), 3–82.

⁴⁶ For which Shelton thanks Cameron, 'Consular Muse', 7; 21–2; figs 12 and 13.

⁴⁷ *Felix Festus missione[m] therior[um] dat*: Spier, 'A lost consular diptych', 354.

⁴⁸ Cameron's invocation of group columbaria or tombs labeled with the genitive plural name of a patron, *Last Pagans*, 724, is not a convincing analogy for the acclamation-style inscriptions of games and officials.

⁴⁹ *Last Pagans*, 735–7.

Silvius, often still with their pagan names.⁵⁰ There is no reason to doubt that sponsors of *ludi et circenses* for calendar festivals in honor of a long list of gods, imperial *natales*, and victories distributed diptychs. The iconography of the diptychs should therefore resemble that of the contorniates in sphere of reference (ludic, official, broadly cultural), intentionality (conventional intelligibility) and political specificity (to record benefaction), even if the material and workmanship are finer and the compositions and iconographic repertory are more complex. Apotheosis pertains easily to commemorations of past emperors. 'Second generation' scenes of mythological lovers and heroes⁵¹ might simply belong, like Muses and philosophers, to the iconographies pertaining to festivals with games. At least until 391, there would be no reason to think twice about scenes of divinities (Asclepius/Hygeia) and priestesses (Nicomachorum/Symmachorum, Fauvel). It is a mistake to suppose that a Young Office Holder presented as a family hope, however refined and elegant in style, must be motivated by imperial dynastic ambitions, or that showing an emperor in armor (Probus) is a statement of opposition to the power of *magistri militum*.⁵² Following Shelton, any of these iconographies may invoke the generic cultural claims of the patron class of officials sponsoring games and festivals.

Finally, progressive secularization of the calendar festivals, part of the gradual retreat of pagan practices from public prominence,⁵³ might be a reason to prefer the traditional dating of Nicomachorum/Symmachorum to the last decades of the fourth century. It may also support the conventional date of the Carrand diptych (Figure 12.2) to the second half of the early western group. The idea of invoking a Christian literary commonplace for an official diptych may have come to any Christian office holder of the fourth or fifth century, but becomes perhaps increasingly probable with the increasing unselfconscious participation of Christians in public festivals. In this case, it is the Carrand diptych that provides the more definite grounds for dating its closest stylistic relative, the diptych of the Young Office Holder and supports the later date.

⁵⁰ M.R. Salzman, *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Life in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1990), 130–57; 186; 235–46; I. Tantillo, 'I munera in età tardoantica', in *Aurea Roma* (n. 12), 120–25.

⁵¹ For example Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 66, Querini; 67, Bellerophon.

⁵² Kiilerich and Torp, 'Hic est', 350, 368–71.

⁵³ Cameron, *Last Pagans*, 14–205.

PART IV

Procopius and Literature in the Sixth-Century Eastern Empire

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Chapter 13

Power, Taste and the Outsider: Procopius and the *Buildings* Revisited¹

Federico Montinaro

Were these chatterers interested in anything beyond a plenteous twinkling of tiaras and recognizable wearers of stars and ribbons in the auditorium?

William Plomer, on the failure of Benjamin Britten's Gloriana at its première

Procopius of Caesarea's six books *On Buildings* are a eulogising description of Justinian I's (527–65) building activity spanning more than 20 years of his reign and covering almost the whole Empire. Since Felix Dahn's 1865 study, the work has been called a 'panegyric'.² More recent scholarship has confirmed the traditional view, illustrating in detail Procopius' dependence on a set of rhetorical techniques and topoi codified in Late Roman times.³ Whether the 'panegyric' label suffices to describe the *Buildings* in the context of a late antique literary culture permeated by what Averil Cameron has now perceptively defined as a cross-genre 'panegyric mode' or whether we may still employ with some profit the very notion of genre and should thus think of the work as a more 'ambitious' melange remains a critical question.⁴ In spite of minor disagreements, however, one can surely speak of an established 'panegyric' perspective towards the *Buildings* in scholarship as well. What students of Procopius have rather struggled to agree

¹ I am very grateful to Lucas McMahon, Juan Signes and Elodie Turquois for their comments. Since this paper was submitted to the editor, the author has received Bernard Flusin's official report of his doctoral work on the *Buildings*. Professor Flusin has offered new and overlooked evidence in favour of the abridgment theory and his valuable remarks deserve consideration. Indeed, the relation of the two redactions of the *Buildings* to one another might prove to be more complicated than both had imagined, and one can only look forward to the debate that will arise from this preliminary exchange.

² F. Dahn, *Prokopius von Cäsarea. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der Völkerwanderung und des sinkenden Römerthums* (Berlin, 1865), *passim*.

³ See the papers in J.-M. Carrié and Ch. Roueché, eds, *Le De Aedificiis: le texte de Procope et les réalités*, (Turnhout, 2001 = *Antiquité Tardive* 8 [2000]), especially those by Mary Whitby and Ruth Webb.

⁴ See A. Cameron, 'New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature, A Title Revisited', in S.F. Johnson, ed., *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity. Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism* (Aldershot, 2006), 11–28; J. Elsner, 'The Rhetoric of Buildings in the *De Aedificiis* of Procopius', in L. James, ed., *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture* (Cambridge, 2007), 33–57, concluding that the *Buildings* was 'Procopius's most ambitious work'.

upon is the place held by the *Buildings* within Procopius' oeuvre and it is possibly in this area that late twentieth-century scholarship was most innovative.

Besides the *Buildings*, Procopius is the author of the eight books *On Wars*, an account of Justinian's campaigns down to 552, and of the *Secret History*, recording, as suggested by the modern title, the unofficial history of the reign. Again Dahn offered a vivid explanation for the contradictions apparent within the literary triptych, arguing that Procopius, the disenchanted 'patriot' of the *Wars*, composed the *Buildings* 'against his own beliefs' ('*gegen seine Überzeugung*'), 'clenching his fist in his pocket' ('*er ballte die Faust in der Tasche*') at Justinian's behest, fearing repression rather than hoping to obtain any honours. However, he could not refrain from manifesting his bitterness in a further writing destined not to be published: the *Secret History*.⁵ Dahn's developmental approach, somewhat confirmed in 1891 by Jakob Haury's redating of the *Secret History* to c.550 – that is necessarily before the *Buildings* – was to influence more than a century of scholarship.⁶ In 1985, Averil Cameron proposed instead that one should read Procopius' three works as a 'composite whole' showing the same 'complex discourse' unified by themes and modes of expression rather than 'intention'. The question of 'sincerity' in the *Buildings* should be superseded in view of Procopius' acceptance of Justinian's Christian imperial ideology and in spite of the disillusion apparent in the last two books of the *Wars*.⁷

Cameron's refreshing views produced a positivist reaction. In his controversial book, Kaldellis described what he believes were the hidden themes behind Procopius' writing, essentially to be connected with a circle of political dissidents inspired by pagan beliefs and Neo-Platonic ideas. In addition to the open denunciation made in the *Secret History*, irony and disguised references to Justinian's 'tyranny' should be spotted here and there in the *Wars* and in the *Buildings*, a work of 'insincere flattery'.⁸

⁵ Dahn, *Prokopius*, 352–67.

⁶ On the date of the *Secret History*, see now A. Kaldellis, 'The Date and Structure of Prokopios' *Secret History* and His Projected Work on Church History', *GRBS* 49 (2009), 585–616, and below, n. 49.

⁷ A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985), especially 3–46.

⁸ A. Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea. Tyranny, History and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2004), especially 51–61, curiously deeming Cameron a 'positivist'. See already K. Gantar, 'Kaiser Justinian "jenem Herbstern gleich." Bemerkungen zu Prokops *Aed.* I.2.10', *Museum Helveticum* 19 (1962) 194–6, dismissed by Cameron, *Procopius*, 103, n. 144, and Ph. Rousseau, 'Procopius's *Buildings* and Justinian's Pride', *Byz.* 68 (1998), 121–30. Kaldellis's treatment of *Buildings* is criticised by Cameron, 'New Themes', 20–21, and n. 46. For a different and subtle approach, see G. Greatrex, 'Procopius the Outsider?', in D.C. Smythe, ed., *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider*, Spring Symposia of Byzantine Studies 8 (Aldershot, 2000), 215–28, with bibliography, cf. idem, 'Perceptions of Procopius in Recent Scholarship', *Histos* 8 (2014), 102–4. See also below, n. 49.

The aim of this contribution is to come back to questions of genre, sincerity and audience in the *Buildings* from a literary standpoint, thus purposely adjourning any discussion of the archaeological evidence.⁹ Greater attention shall be paid to the relevant evidence provided by the comparison between the recently rediscovered first redaction of the *Buildings* and the longer text known from modern editions.

The ‘Two’ *Buildings*

The *Buildings* have survived in two redactions of unequal length.¹⁰ At first sight, the shorter redaction seems to offer a lacunose version of the longer one. This may have caused it to be traditionally disregarded as a medieval abridgement by modern editors.¹¹ After reassessing the manuscript evidence, however, I have argued that the short redaction is in reality an early and genuine redaction, later expanded by Procopius himself so as to become the *Buildings* of standard editions.¹²

My arguments include the discovery of interventions in the first person unique to the short redaction and, conversely, unmistakable signs of updating in the long one. These arguments, together with some stylistic remarks and the observation of inconsistencies in the longer text, led to the following conclusions: the short

⁹ D. Roques’s posthumous French translation of *Buildings*, ed. by E. Amato and J. Schamp, *Procopée de Césarée, Constructions de Justinien Ier*, Hellenica 39 (Alessandria, 2011), offers an up-to-date archaeological commentary, superseding the older one by W. Pülhorn in O. Veh, *Prokop, Bauten. Paulos Silentarios, Beschreibung der Hagia Sophia* (Munich, 1977).

¹⁰ The main manuscript of the long redaction is Vatican City, Apostolic Library, Gr. 1065, of the twelfth century. For the short one we must rely mainly on three late manuscripts: Milan, Ambrosian Library, A 182 Sup., of the fourteenth or fifteenth century; Athens, Benaki Museum, Antallaxima 4, of the fourteenth century; Wolfenbüttel, Duke August Library, Gud. Gr. 70, also of the fourteenth century. B. Rhenanus, *Procopii Caesariensis de rebus Gothorum, Persarum ac Vandalorum libri VII, una cum aliis mediorum temporum historicis* (Basel, 1531), offers, as an appendix, the only edition of the short redaction to date, in fact *Buildings*’s *editio princeps*. The long redaction is edited by J. Haury, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia* III, 2 (Leipzig, 1913), revised ed. G. Wirth, as vol. IV (1964). A new synoptic edition of the two redactions is included in my dissertation, *Études sur l’évergétisme impérial à Byzance*, École Pratique des Hautes Études-Sorbonne (Paris, 2013).

¹¹ For the traditional view, see B. Flusin, ‘Remarques sur la tradition manuscrite du *De Aedificiis*’, in Carrié and Roueché, eds, *Le De Aedificiis*, 9–17.

¹² F. Montinaro, ‘Byzantium and the Slavs in the reign of Justinian. Comparing the two recensions of Procopius’s *Buildings*’, in V. Ivanišević and M. Kazanski, eds, *The Pontic-Danubian Realm in the Period of the Great Migration*, Centre de recherche d’Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 36 / Arheološki institut, Posebna izdanja, Knjiga 51 (Paris/Belgrade, 2011), 89–114. A similar hypothesis was brought forward on solely stylistic grounds by G.A. Downey, ‘The composition of Procopius, *De aedificiis*, TAPA 78 (1949), 171–83.

redaction was conceived as an appendix to the first seven books of the *Wars*, published c.550, and probably remained a draft; the eight-book edition of the *Wars* of 553–57 prompted the updating of the *Buildings*; the resulting long redaction did remain an incomplete draft, to be imagined as a pack of *scholia* appended to a copy of the short redaction, which were eventually incorporated in the text.¹³

Procopius' errors

Before proceeding to the main subject, I would like to discuss one of the philological issues raised by the manuscript tradition of the *Buildings*, for it has some bearing on our understanding of Procopius as writer. The critical apparatus of the standard twentieth-century edition by Haury exposes several errors common to the entire tradition and going back, in his view, to a faulty archetype of the long redaction. One such instance would be the sentence 'this, I believe, is not ineffable, even for a lisping and thin voiced tongue' (ταῦτα δέ, οἶμαι, οὐδὲ γλώσση τραυλιζούσῃ τε καὶ ἰσχυροφώνῳ οὔσῃ ἀμήχανα ἔσται), found in both redactions at 1.1.43 and there expunged by Haury as a repetition. In fact, the same sentence is to be read also, with a minor variant, at 1.1.3 in the long redaction alone. It seems to me that Procopius decided to reuse a nice turn of phrase in expanding the first paragraphs of the *Buildings* and that he eventually forgot to remove the later occurrence of the same phrase, or that he did remove it, but the copyists of the long redaction reintroduced it at 1.1.43 following the short text, with which they were acquainted.¹⁴

Some further examples of Haury's unnecessary interventions on the text transmitted by both redactions are worth mentioning. At *Aed.* 1.1.46, the dome of Hagia Sophia is said, in all manuscripts, to be suspended from heaven by a 'golden chain' (θόλος ... τῇ σειρᾷ τῇ χρυσῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξημμένη), but Haury corrected σειρᾷ into σφαίρᾳ, failing to recognise the reference to the 'golden chain' (σειρὴν χρυσείην) by which, in Homer, Zeus boasts that he could pull the entire land and sea up to the sky.¹⁵ Similarly, Haury transformed the (perfectly plausible, as pointed out by Cyril Mango) 'House of the Area' (τὸν Ἀρέας καλούμενον οἶκον) into the House 'of Ares' (Ἀρεως) at 1.10.3.¹⁶ One should also be cautious in

¹³ See Montinaro, 'Byzantium and the Slavs', 89–90, 104–5, on the dates of the *Buildings* and the *Wars*; G. Greatrex, 'The date of Procopius' *Buildings* in the light of recent scholarship', *Estudios bizantinos* 1 (2013), 13–29, cf. idem, 'Réflexions sur la date de composition des *Guerres perses* de Procope' in C. Freu and S. Janniard, eds, *Libera Curiositas. Mélanges en l'honneur de J.-M. Carrié*, forthcoming. See also below, n. 49.

¹⁴ On variants of the short redaction in Vatican City, Apostolic Library, Gr. 1065, see Flusin, 'Remarques', 15, to be completed with the variants indicated by Haury at *Aed.* 3.5.1 and 3.7.1.

¹⁵ *Il.* 8.17–27.

¹⁶ See C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959), 36, n. 1.

speaking of common errors where toponyms, for which we ignore the established spelling, appear to have been misspelt in both redactions in the same way. This is the case of Pontes, spelt, in the nominative case, Πόντες, Πόντος and Πόντης in the space of a few lines at 4.6, or of Leptis Magna, spelt both Λεπτιμάγνας and Λεπτιμάγνης in the genitive case, at 6.4.

Finally, common errors have been claimed to occur in the division of words and the disposition of the text in the list of toponyms at 4.11 and in the similarly structured catalogue at 5.9. These records are indeed present in both redactions, whereas a further list is found only in the long redaction, at 4.4 (see below). Veselin Beševliev proposed plausible amendments for several place names in the list at 4.11, based on ancient itineraries and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, as well as on linguistic considerations.¹⁷ More recently, Bernard Flusin proposed an alternative and apparently more satisfying disposition of the text in the one at 5.9.¹⁸

One may or may not agree that any of these passages need emending (see below). Errors common to both redactions do exist. The list of *certain* ones is, however, very short:

- 1.7.3: δυωδεκάτω for δυωδεκάτη with λεγεῶνι.
- 2.2.2: αὐτὴν for αὐτῆς.
- 2.4.16: ἔννομος for εὖνομος.
- 2.8.18: λίθον should be expunged.
- 3.2.3: Ἀρξάνη for Ἀρξανηνή (Procopius knows the correct spelling in the *Wars*).
- 4.10.14: τῷ for τῇ before θόλω.
- 5.2.3: αὐτὸς σχεδιάζει for αὐτοσχεδιάζει.
- 6.2.19: μεταπορευομένους for μεταπορευόμενος.
- 6.4.18: ἐν, before ὀκνήσει, should be expunged.

According to my reconstruction, no errors could have moved from the long into the short redaction and one is therefore obliged to attribute the same errors to Procopius himself. This may at first seem an uncomfortable solution, but it is supported not only by the meagre number of errors in question, but also by the fact that they are all easily explainable in the context of Procopius either writing down the text on his own or dictating it to a secretary. Subsequently, Procopius' method of revising the *Buildings* by simply adding *scholia*, with little rewriting (see below), and the work's peculiar state of perennial draft, amply account for such errors remaining stuck in the long redaction.

As for the possible errors in the spelling and division of words and paragraphs in the lists, they could also have been in Procopius' manuscript. As has long been acknowledged, the lists in Book 4 almost certainly derived from official

¹⁷ V. Beševliev, *Zur Deutung der Kastellnamen in Prokops 'De aedificiis'* (Amsterdam, 1970), 126–49.

¹⁸ Flusin, 'Remarques', 16.

records. Beševliev pointed out the most striking hint of such a special origin by demonstrating that they were originally compiled in Latin.¹⁹ The same origin may be argued for the list at 5.9, while all the lists were visibly included in the text without proper editing.²⁰ Therefore, any misspellings and wrong divisions may have occurred when the lists passed from the official source to Procopius or may indeed have been generated by the historian himself.

The Two Prefaces

A reading of the two prefaces as found in both redactions may prove surprisingly informative and provide us with a taste of the historian's method of revision.²¹

Aed. 1.1.1–19 (short redaction)²²

1, 1. It is not because I wish to make a display of skill, not through any confidence in my eloquence, nor because I pride myself on my personal knowledge of many lands, that I have set about writing this record; for indeed I had no grounds for venturing so bold an intention. 2. Yet the thought has many times occurred to me, how many and how great are the benefits which are wont to accrue the states through History, which transmits to future generations the memory of those who have gone before and resists the steady effort of time to bury events in oblivion.

Aed. 1.1.1–19 (long redaction)

1.1. It is not because I wish to make a display of skill, nor through any confidence in my eloquence, nor because I pride myself on my personal knowledge of many lands, that I have set about writing this record; for indeed I had no grounds for venturing so bold an intention. 2. Yet the thought has many times occurred to me, how many and how great are the benefits which are wont to accrue to states through History, which transmits to future generations the memory of those who have gone before, and resists the steady effort of time to bury events in oblivion; and while it incites to virtue those who from time to time may read it by the praise it bestows, it constantly assails vice by repelling its influence. 3. Wherefore our concern must be solely this — that all the deeds of the past shall be clearly set forth, and by what man, whosoever he might be, they were wrought. And this, I

¹⁹ See Beševliev, *Zur Deutung*, 74–7, and further Montinaro, 'Byzantium and the Slavs', 102–4.

²⁰ J. Elsner, 'Rhetoric', 39, makes the intriguing but unconvincing suggestion that Procopius considered the lists an after all efficient rhetorical device. Elsewhere Procopius made a conscious effort to provide material found in a list form with an even thin narrative frame: see *Aed.* 4.6.19–7.14, with Montinaro, 'Byzantium and the Slavs', 102, n. 43.

²¹ Unless stated otherwise, all translations of the *Buildings* are from H.B. Dewing's, in *Procopius* VII, Loeb Classical Library 343 (Cambridge, MA, 1954), which has been adapted to the shorter text.

²² The Greek text in: Athens, fol. 1; Milan, fol. 189r; Wolfenbüttel, fol. 1r–v. Cf. Rhenanus' edition, 1.

5. And the reason why I have made this preface I shall forthwith disclose. 6. In our own age the Emperor Justinian, taking over the State when it was harassed by disorder, has not only made it greater in extent, but also much more illustrious,

as I have made clear in detail in the preceding narrative.

8. For he has created countless cities which did not exist before. 9. And finding that the belief in God was, before his time, straying into errors and being forced to go in many directions, he completely destroyed all the paths leading to such errors, and brought it about that it stood on the firm foundation of a single faith.

believe, is not ineffable, even for a lisping and thin-voiced tongue. 4. Apart from all this, history shews that subjects who have received benefits have proved themselves grateful toward their benefactors, and that they have repaid them with thank-offerings in generous measure, seeing that, while they have profited, it may be, for the moment only by the beneficence of their rulers, they nevertheless preserve their sovereigns' virtue imperishable in the memory of those who are to come after them. 5. Indeed it is through this very service that many men of later times strive after virtue, by emulating the honours of those who have preceded them, and, because they cannot endure censure, are quite likely to shun the basest practices.

And the reason why I have made this preface I shall forthwith disclose. 6. In our own age there has been born the Emperor Justinian, who, taking over the State when it was harassed by disorder, has not only made it greater in extent, but also much more illustrious, by expelling from it those barbarians who had from of old pressed hard upon it, as I have made clear in detail in the Books on the Wars. 7. Indeed they say that Themistocles, the son of Neocles, once boastfully said that he did not lack the ability to make a small state large. 8. But this Sovereign does not lack the skill to produce completely transformed states — witness the way he has already added to the Roman domain many states which in his own times had belonged to others, and has created countless cities which did not exist before. 9. And finding that the belief in God was, before his time, straying into errors and being forced to go in many directions, he completely destroyed all the paths leading to such errors, and brought it about that it stood on the firm foundation of a single faith. 10. Moreover, finding the laws obscure because they had become far more numerous than they should be, and in obvious confusion because they disagreed with each other, he preserved them by cleansing them of the mass of their verbal trickery, and by controlling their discrepancies with the greatest firmness; as for those who plotted against him, he of his own volition dismissed the charges against

12. They do indeed say that the best Emperor of whom we know by tradition was the Persian Cyrus.

13. But whether that Cyrus was in fact such a man as he whose education from childhood up is described by Xenophon the Athenian, I have no means of knowing. 14. For it may well be that the skill of the writer of that description was quite capable, such was his exquisite eloquence, of coming to be a mere embellishment of the facts.

16. On the contrary, a proof of our Emperor's philanthropy exists and is that

those who treacherously formed the plot against him, going so far even as to plan his assassination, are not only living up to the present moment, and in possession of their own property, even though their guilt was proved with absolute certainty, but are actually still serving as generals of the Romans, and are holding the consular rank to which they had been appointed.

them, causing those who were in want to have a surfeit of wealth, and crushing the spiteful fortune that oppressed them, he wedded the whole State to a life of prosperity. 11. Furthermore, he strengthened the Roman domain, which everywhere lay exposed to the barbarians, by a multitude of soldiers, and by constructing strongholds he built a wall along all its remote frontiers. 12. However, most of the Emperor's other achievements have been described by me in my other writings, so that the subject of the present work will be the benefits which he wrought as a builder. We know by tradition that the best Emperor was the Persian Cyrus, who was chiefly responsible for the founding of the kingdom of Persia for the people of his race.²³ 13. But whether that Cyrus was in fact such a man as he whose education from childhood up is described by Xenophon the Athenian, I have no means of knowing. 14. For it may well be that the skill of the writer of that description was quite capable, such was his exquisite eloquence, of coming to be a mere embellishment of the facts. 15. But in the case of the king of our times, Justinian (whom one would rightly, I think, call a king by nature as well as by inheritance, since he is, as Homer says, 'as gentle as a father'), if one should examine his reign with care, he will regard the rule of Cyrus as a sort of child's play. 16. The proof of this will be that the Roman Empire, as I have just said, has become more than doubled both in area and in power generally, while, on the other hand, those who treacherously formed the plot against him, going so far even as to plan his assassination, are not only living up to the present moment, and in possession of their own property, even though their guilt was proved with absolute certainty, but are actually still serving as generals of the Romans, and are holding the consular rank to which they had been appointed. 17. But

²³ I maintain the Vatican manuscript's variant ἄριστον μὲν δὴ βασιλέα γεγονέναι τὸν Πέρσῃν Κῦρον τοῖς τε ὁμογενέσιν αἰτιώτατον τῆς βασιλείας ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν, whereas Hauray contaminated the two redactions by writing Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσῃν φασίν, ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν τοῖς τε ὁμογενέσιν αἰτιώτατον τῆς βασιλείας.

now we must proceed, as I have said, to the subject of the buildings of this Emperor, so that it may not come to pass in the future that those who see them refuse, by reason of their great number and magnitude, to believe that they are in truth the works of one man. 18. For already many works of men of former times which are not vouched for by a written record have aroused incredulity because of their surpassing merit. And with good reason the buildings in Byzantium, beyond all the rest, will serve as a foundation for my narrative. 19. For 'o'er a work's beginnings,' as the old saying has it, 'we needs must set a front that shines afar.'

If I am right, Procopius' revision entailed only minor rewriting and consisted mainly of additions, which can be summarised as follows:

1. A sentence about the importance of writing history, partly borrowed from classical proems such as Diodorus Siculus' and Dionysius of Halicarnassus', but insisting, in an original way, on the relation between the subject and the munificent ruler (*Aed.* 1.1.2–4).²⁴
2. Two references to Justinian's victories against the 'barbarians' (1.1.6 and 1.1.11; cf. 1.1.16).
3. A comparison between Justinian and Themistocles (1.1.7) and a further development of the comparison, found already in the short redaction, with Cyrus (1.1.15; cf. 1.1.12).
4. The mention of Justinian's codification and of his mercy towards those who plotted against him (1.1.10); the latter is already mentioned, in both redactions, at 1.1.16.
5. A few lines serving to reset the narrative's focus (1.1.17–19).

One witnesses in the revision a general intensification of official (rather than personal or artistic) motives.²⁵

²⁴ On the models of the *Buildings*' preface, see Cameron, *Procopius*, 35, 37, referring to H. Lieberich, *Studien zu den Proömien in der griechischen und byzantinischen Geschichtschreibung* II (Munich, 1900), which I was unable to consult. See, more recently, P. Cesaretti, 'All'ombra di una preterizione (Proc. Aed. I 1,1)', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s. 45 (2008), 153–78, on Procopius's debt to Dionysius.

²⁵ For the parallel multiplication of recorded military constructions in Books 2, 4 and 5 in the revision, see Montinaro, 'Byzantium and the Slavs', 93–4.

Procopius the Master Builder?

As I have anticipated, the ‘panegyric’ perspective has created some discontents. James Howard-Johnston brought forward the most coherent challenge to traditional views not only of the *Buildings* as a panegyric, but also of Procopius as a ‘classicizing’ historian.²⁶ In particular, according to Howard-Johnston, the *Buildings*, ‘so oddball a work, a monothematic encomium’, could neither have been commissioned by Justinian nor have been composed by Procopius out of sincere admiration for the emperor: ‘Procopius chose to write a full account of construction work in the reign of Justinian because, he, Procopius, had an overriding interest in the subject; and by far the most likely reason for such a preoccupation was that he was a military architect or engineer by profession.’²⁷

I will not discuss Howard-Johnston’s theory in every detail. Undoubtedly, Procopius did have an overriding interest and some expertise in construction work. The *Buildings* pays open tribute to the architects of the past and the present, and to the simple craftsmen recruited by Justinian. As well, the work is interspersed with dozens of technical digressions describing the construction and modification of circuit-walls, the levelling of hills, the diversion of rivers, the evacuation of debris and so on.²⁸ One may wonder, however, whether picturing Procopius as an engineer really provides us with ‘by far the most likely reason’ for his interests and knowledge. A more economical solution could be to envisage him as an ‘armchair technical and military writer’ of a kind that has been described for Late Antiquity.²⁹ Procopius’ treatment of Justinian’s works at Martyropolis suggests that. Let us compare again the two redactions:

Aed. 3.2.10–14 (short recension)³⁰

10. Indeed the circuit-wall of this Martyropolis was really about four feet in thickness, while it was only twenty feet high. In consequence, it would have been easy for the enemy to assault the wall and scramble over it.

11–14. Therefore the Emperor Justinian

Buildings 3.2.10–14 (long recension)

10. Indeed the circuit-wall of this Martyropolis was really about four feet in thickness, while it was only twenty feet high. In consequence, the wall could not only be easily assaulted by the enemy if they stormed it or brought up their siege engines, but it was quite easy for them simply to scramble over it. 11. Therefore the Emperor

²⁶ J. Howard-Johnston, ‘The Education and Expertise of Procopius’, in Carrié and Roueché, eds, *Le De Aedificiis*, 19–30.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁸ Such excursuses are now the subject of Part 1 (‘The Material World of Procopius’) of Elodie Turquois’s dissertation, *Envisioning Byzantium: Materiality and Visuality in Procopius of Caesarea* (Oxford, 2013).

²⁹ See, e.g., M. Lenoir, ‘La littérature de *re militari*’, in Cl. Nicolet, ed., *Les littératures techniques dans l’antiquité romaine. Statut, public et destination, tradition*, Fondation Hardt, Entretiens sur l’Antiquité classique 42 (Vandœuvres/Geneva, 1996), 77–108.

³⁰ The Greek text in: Athens, fol. 17r; Milan, fol. 203v; Wolfenbüttel, fol. 21r. Cf. Rhenanus’ edition, 21.

built a second wall outside the circuit-wall,

Justinian devised the following plan:

Outside the circuit-wall he dug a trench, and laying foundations there he built a second wall with a thickness of four feet, leaving a space of four feet between the two walls; and he raised the new wall also to a height of twenty feet and made it in all respects equal to the first. 12. Then, by throwing stones and mortar into the space between the two walls, he brought this work to perfection by forming one solid structure with a thickness of twelve feet. 13. Above this he added, in about the same thickness, the same height which the earlier wall had had. 14. He also constructed admirable outworks for the city and all the other things without exception on which a city's defences are based.

as well as admirable outworks
and all other things without exception on
which a city's defences are based.

Michael Whitby pointed out the inconsistencies between Procopius' lengthy technical description of the city's new circuit-wall and the archaeological evidence.³¹ In contrast with the account in the long redaction, the expansion of the circuit-wall appears to have been carried out by building, at a distance of seven feet from an original seven-foot thick structure, on the exterior side, a one-foot thick ashlar façade and by filling the resulting gap with mortared rubble. A similar façade was built on the interior side at a distance of one foot from the old wall and the gap filled in the same way. The new wall was thus almost twenty feet in thickness, which implies that the height was also significantly improved.

Whitby only knew the long redaction and explained Procopius' inaccuracies by pointing out that the historian was writing decades after he had witnessed the renovation at Martyropolis as Belisarius' secretary. This took place before 531, when the new wall resisted a siege, yet after Belisarius' departure.³² It is noteworthy, however, that while not aspiring to the same precision, the short redaction does not necessarily err. The simple statement found there that 'Justinian built a second wall outside the [existing] circuit-wall' may at first appear to be an inaccurate abridgement, but is a fair approximation of the substance of the emperor's intervention on the wall's depth and it may be suggested that Procopius was only able to witness the beginning of the works. On the other hand, the measurements in the long redaction, while being short of Justinian's actual achievement, correspond to those recommended in a contemporary manual of strategy.³³

³¹ See M. Whitby, 'Procopius's description of Martyropolis', *Byzantinoslavica* 45 (1984), 177–82.

³² Whitby, *ibid.*, 181, also demonstrated that Procopius's account of the siege (*Bell.* 1.21), very critical of the preparations and the city's defences, is tendentious.

³³ Anon., *De re strat.*, ed. G.T. Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, CFHB 25 (Washington, DC, 1985), 35. See P. Rance, 'The Date of the Military Compendium of

Elodie Turquois, in this volume, assesses the supposedly professional value of the *Buildings*' technical digressions; two simple facts can be pointed out here. First, digressions of the above kind are among the items that most often appear only in the second redaction. The most remarkable example is the *ekphrasis* of Hagia Sophia, large sections of which are missing in the short text (*Aed.* 1.1.35–7, 39, 43–5; 51–3; 55). Within Book 1 alone, the examples of technical descriptions that were almost entirely added in the revision are numerous: 1.2.1 (the column's base providing 'seats' at the Augusteum); 1.3.3–4 (Church of the Theotokos at the Blachernae, including the classification of Parian marble); 1.3.15–18 (Church of Saint Michael in the Deuteron quarter); 1.4.4 and 7 (Church of Peter and Paul and Church of Sergius and Bacchus); 1.4.10–16 (Holy Apostles, together with the early history of the relics down to 1.1.20); 1.8.7–14 (Church of the Archangel Michael at the Anapulus); 1.10.7–9 (Senate House); 1.10.12 and 14 (Chalkê); 1.10.20 (classification of Spartan marble). It is hard to understand why Procopius would have failed to include such digressions in the first draft if they represented his main interest.³⁴

Chasing Procopius' Audience

The second fact takes us beyond the discussion about the significance of technical writing in Procopius: the two passages that have usually been held to be a hint of Procopius' writing 'to order' only appear in the long redaction.³⁵ One of these passages is found in the preface at 1.1.4 and concerns the relation between subject and ruler (above). The other passage is found a little further in Book 1:

Ἀρκτέον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας νεῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ἐξεπιστάμεθα βουλευμένῳ εἶναι, καὶ διαφανῶς εἰσηγεῖται ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος ὅτι δὴ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα ἰτέον (*Aed.* 1.3.1).

We must begin with the churches of Mary the Mother of God. For we know that this is the wish of the Emperor himself, and true reason manifestly demands that from God one must proceed to the Mother of God.

Here the short redaction simply reads: 'Now we must proceed to His Mother' (ἤδη δὲ ἰτέον ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα), that is the mother of 'Jesus', mentioned

Syrianus Magister', *BZ* 100 (2007), 701–37, for an astute but unconvincing challenge to the traditional dating of the treatise.

³⁴ See Elodie Turquois's contribution to this volume, Chapter 15, pointing out that none of the passages from Books 1, 2 and 4 of the *Buildings* that she analyses as examples of technical writing are to be found in the short redaction.

³⁵ See already Dahn, *Procopius*, 357–9. Cameron, *Procopius*, 191, n. 23, and Howard-Johnston, 'Education', 25, n. 29, are critical.

immediately before at *Aed.* 1.2.18.³⁶ The mention of a further Church of the Theotokos near Anaplis also appears only in the long text, which I consider to be the author's revision (1.8.20).

These elements should reinforce the impression given by the preface that Procopius composed at least the second redaction of the *Buildings* as a direct response to Justinian's commission. That such additions could be solicited suggests that the work was from the beginning a public commission, which, however, did not quite meet with the desired reception at its first submission, whether private or public.³⁷ On the other hand, it would seem that there existed, besides the emperor, an audience that did want the *Buildings* to be the 'monothematic *encomium*' deplored by Howard-Johnston.³⁸ In fact, the systematic addition of both propagandistic and technical digressions would create a clearer picture of Procopius' primary audience, which it is tempting to depict as a conformist social body characterised by exaggerated loyalty and self-indulgent 'baroque' tastes: Justinian's court.

Procopius the Frondeur? The Other Audience

As we have also seen, according to Kaldellis, the *Buildings* present some hidden derogatory allusions to Justinian. Such allusions should be found in the form of partial quotations from ancient authors, arranged so as to appear full of praise at a first reading and only be decodable by a sect of *illuminati* readers. I shall only address Kaldellis's arguments in relation to the *Buildings*.

Three of the allegedly allusive passages are found in the preface, reproduced above. The first one is the comparison with Themistocles at *Aed.* 1.1.7–8. Kaldellis identified the source of the reference to Themistocles' 'boastfully [saying] that he did not lack the ability to make a small state large' with Plutarch's *Life* of the Athenian statesman. There we are told that Themistocles bragged about this particular ability only in response to his critics' mockery of his lack of refinement.³⁹ In Kaldellis's view, Procopius also insisted in recalling Themistocles' father because, according to Plutarch, the latter was a man of humble origins.⁴⁰ The same criticism would apply to Justinian. The second is an allusion to Cyrus being 'responsible for the founding of the kingdom of Persia for the people of his race', held by Kaldellis to establish a connection between Justinian and the barbarian world. The third passage is the reference to Justinian being

³⁶ The Greek text in: Athens, fol. 4r; Milan, fol. 191r; Wolfenbüttel, fol. 5v. Cf. Rhenanus's edition, 4. 1.2.19 is also missing in the short text.

³⁷ G.A. Downey, 'Notes on Procopius, *De Aedificiis* Book 1', in *Studies presented to David M. Robinson* (St. Louis, 1953), 719–25, suggested that Book 1 was composed for public performance. Contrary to what I argued in my former paper, I wonder now if the entire short redaction was in fact meant to be recited.

³⁸ I owe this specific point to Elodie Turquois.

³⁹ Plut., *Them.* 2.3.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 1.1.

‘gentle as a father’ (πατὴρ ὡς ἡπιος) to his subjects (1.1.15). This is a quotation from *Od.* 15.152, or rather 2.47, where Telemachus reminds the men of Ithaca that Odysseus was ‘gentle as a father’ (πατὴρ δ’ ὡς ἡπιος) to all of them. The subsequent lines in the *Odyssey* are a prophecy about the ruin of Odysseus’ house. In the same paragraph of the *Buildings*, we are told that ‘if one should examine [Justinian’s] reign with care, he will regard the rule of Cyrus as a sort of child’s play (παιδία)’. This is an obvious pun about the title of Xenophon’s biography of Cyrus, but is also, in Kaldellis’s view, an evocation of the *Secret History*, where one reads that under Justinian ‘the state resembled a kingdom of children at play’.⁴¹

Another passage of interest is encountered at *Aed.* 1.1.61: in Hagia Sophia, ‘[the visitor’s] mind is lifted up toward God and exalted’ (ὁ νοῦς δέ οἱ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαίρόμενος ἀεροβατεῖ). In the *Secret History* the emperor’s vulnerability to flatterers is described in identical words, which are reminiscent of Aristophanes’ ironic characterisation of Socrates in *Clouds* (cf. ἀεροβατέω).⁴² Finally, at *Aed.* 1.2.9, Procopius applies to Justinian the Homeric identification of Achilles with the ‘Autumn star’ (τὸν ὁπωρινὸν ἐκείνον ἀστέρα). In the relevant verses, the *Iliad* continues: ‘brightest of all is he, yet withal is he a sign of evil, and bringeth much fever upon wretched mortals’.⁴³

All the passages above may just be ill-chosen quotations. One observation, however, may lend support to Kaldellis’s theory. The reader has certainly noticed that the three alleged allusions found in the preface are missing in the short redaction: in fact, *all* the allusions listed by Kaldellis are missing there. If Procopius inserted such references into his revision he did so with meticulous care.

Les liaisons dangereuses

Some remarks are in order about a corollary aspect of Kaldellis’s theory. Pointing out the similarity of the two authors’ political views, Kaldellis went so far as to suggest that John Lydus was ‘a close friend of Procopius and one of the intended readers of the *Secret history*’.⁴⁴ Whether that was the case or not, it is worth noting that the *Buildings* shares at least two glosses with Lydus’ *De mensibus*, on which Procopius’ work is patently dependent. This fact has gone unnoticed for different reasons.

The first gloss is found at *Aed.* 4.6.16 (πόντην γὰρ τὴν γέφυραν Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ), where the meaning of Latin *pons*, ‘bridge’, is given

⁴¹ Procop., *Anecd.* 14.14: ἐώκει τε ἡ πολιτεία βασιλίδι παιζόντων παιδίων; transl. A. Kaldellis, *Procopius. The Secret History with Related Texts* (Indianapolis, 2010), 67.

⁴² Ibid. 13.11: ἔπειθον γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κολακεύοντες οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὅτι μετέωρος ἀρθείη καὶ ἀεροβατοίη. The targeted passage is Ar., *Nu.* 225–8. Cf. Cameron, *Procopius*, 34–5.

⁴³ *Il.* 22.26–31, transl. A.T. Murray, *Homer, Iliad II*, Loeb Classical Library 171 (Cambridge, MA, 1924), 479.

⁴⁴ Kaldellis, *Procopius*, 134.

in basically the same words as in *De mensibus*, a parallel that escaped Haury's attention.⁴⁵ The other common gloss is found in the form of a marginal annotation concerning the Augusteum (*Aed.* 1.2) in two manuscripts of the *Buildings*, of both redactions. Its genuineness has not been recognised. First let us look at them as they appear in the manuscripts:

The Augusteum gloss in Athens, Benaki Museum, antallaxima 4, fol. 3^v

μετέθη ἡ λέξις· γουστειὼν γὰρ καλοῦσι τὸ
ψοπωλεῖον

The Augusteum gloss in Vatican City, Apostolic Library, Gr. 1605, fol. 27^r

μετέθη ἡ λέξις· γουστίων γὰρ καλοῦσι τὸ
ὀψοπωλεῖον

Bernard Flusin, who first noticed the gloss, referred the reader to two possible sources for the rendering (Au)gusteum / ὀψοπωλεῖον, a 'food market'. One of them is precisely Lydus' *De mensibus*, the other is the fourteenth-century antiquarian compilation called the *Patria*, which copied from Lydus verbatim.⁴⁶ Flusin concluded: 'il est difficile de savoir si la note remonte à la fin de l'Antiquité ou à l'époque médiévale'.⁴⁷ It is, however, just plausible that Procopius had access to Lydus' work, composed around 543,⁴⁸ that he drew from it both the gloss about *pous* and the one about the Augusteum, and noted down the latter on his own copy of the *Buildings*, from which it spread to the rest of the manuscript tradition independently from the *Patria*.

Conclusions

The comparison between the two redactions of the *Buildings* reveals new details about some pressing questions of genre, audience and literary taste in the sixth century. It may tell us something about Procopius as well. Dating his works proves more important than ever. Once the composition of the first redaction of

⁴⁵ Lyd., *Mens.* 4.15: πόντην γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν γέφυραν καλοῦσι, καὶ ποντίλια τὰ γεφυραῖα ξύλα. The chapter deals more generally with the etymology of Latin *pontifex*.

⁴⁶ Lyd., *Mens.* 4.138, on the rituals of 5th October: [...] ἐν τῷ Γουστείῳ, οἷον ἐν τῷ ὀψοπωλεῖῳ [...]; *Patr. Const.* 15, misunderstanding Lydus.

⁴⁷ Flusin, 'Remarques', 17. This judgement is affected by the different perception of the relation of the two redactions to each other. Flusin also believes that the paragraph titles περὶ τοῦ αὐγουστιῶνος ἑκφρασις and περὶ τοῦ αὐγουσταίου κίονος, found just above the gloss in the Athens and Vatican manuscripts, belonged to the same original marginal annotation, but the link is not obvious. Paragraph titles are common in the tradition of both redactions of the *Buildings* and are unlikely to be original.

⁴⁸ See M. Maas, *John Lydus and the Roman Past* (London/New York, 1992), 10, 34–5.

the *Buildings* is dated to c.550, it is seen to overlap with the *Secret History*.⁴⁹ One would hesitate to suggest that Procopius' admiration for Justinian's achievement was then still sincere, for hidden *Kaiserkritik* of the emperor has been claimed to occur already in *Wars* 1 to 7.⁵⁰ It is however possible that the 'first' *Buildings* predates the *Secret History* and that the cool reception met with by the former triggered the escalation of resentment observable in the latter. Be that as it may, around 554 Procopius was writing with the clear intention of proving strong allegiance. At *Aed.* 1.1.72 in the long text alone, one reads: 'and if this story were without witness, I am well aware that it would have seemed a piece of flattery and altogether incredible.'⁵¹ Ironically, the *Buildings* have proved to be one of the most credible 'pieces of flattery' ever written.

⁴⁹ As Kaldellis, 'Date and structure', 589 f., has finally shown, Procopius repeated claims to be writing the *Secret History* as Justinian has 'administered' (forms of διοικοῦμαι) the state for 'thirty-two years' refer to the entire period of Justinian's administrative power beginning with the reign of his uncle Justin (518–27) and place the composition in 549/550 or 550/551. The latest securely datable item in the first redaction of the *Buildings* is the renovation of the walls of Chalcis (2.11.1), attested by an inscription dated 550/551: see Montinaro, 'Byzantium and the Slavs', 105, n. 51. Joh. Mal. 113, ed. Thurn, 414–15, dates the dedication of the Church of Saint Irene at Galata to September 551. The building is already mentioned in the short redaction of the *Buildings*, at 1.7.1, but need not have already been consecrated.

⁵⁰ See J. Signes Codoñer, 'Kaiserkritik in Prokops *Kriegsgeschichte*', *Electrum* 9 (2003), 215–29, esp. 226–9, on *omina*.

⁵¹ For Procopius on the subject of flattery, see above and Kaldellis, *Procopius*, 58–61.

Chapter 14

Belisarius' Second Occupation of Rome and Pericles' Last Speech

Charles Pazdernik

At the end of 536, Belisarius, with much fanfare, captured the city of Rome, punctuating the line of successes stretching from his destruction of the Vandals in 534 to the capitulation of Ravenna and Belisarius' triumphant return to Constantinople in 540. However, the city had fallen back into the hands of the resurgent Ostrogoths under their king Totila in December of 546. In the following spring of 547, Belisarius, who had himself returned to Italy in 544, exploited an opportunity presented by Gothic operations in the south of Italy by entering and hastily refortifying the virtually deserted city and then thwarted Totila's attempts to dislodge him. Procopius of Caesarea tells the story together with its sequel, the Gothic siege of Perugia (Perugia), as part of a self-contained narrative in chapters 24–26 of book seven of the *Wars*.

The encounter represented an unaccustomed setback for Totila as well as a final, if ultimately indecisive, flourish for Belisarius, who would be recalled from Italy, never to return, in early 549. Procopius introduces the episode by celebrating Belisarius' daring and foresightedness. Attention shifts from Belisarius to Totila, however, once recriminations develop within the Gothic ranks over Totila's decision to evacuate Rome.¹

¹ Procopius opens this narrative proleptically: 'At that time Belisarius conceived a daring and far-seeing plan ...' (Βελισσαρίω δὲ τόλμα προμηθῆς γέγονε τότε ...); initially it seemed absurd but turned into a stunning achievement (*Wars* 7.24.1). Belisarius occupies the city (2–7); Totila reacts, and the first day's fighting ends at nightfall with many Gothic casualties (8–15). Following a digression about caltrops (*triboloi*, 16), fighting resumes the following day with further Gothic losses (19–22); many days later the Goths make yet another attempt, Totila's standard is nearly captured, and the attackers are routed (23–26). Gothic notables (*logimoi*) reproach Totila for his indecision (*aboulia*): he should have either destroyed the city or held on to it (27); Procopius criticises their fickle judgment (28–30). Totila abandons the siege and withdraws to Tibur, while Belisarius installs new gates and sends the keys once more (αὐθις, cf. 5.14.15) to Justinian: these measures conclude the twelfth year of the war (7.24.31–34; winter 547 CE).

The focus now falls squarely upon Totila: he had much earlier (πολλῶ πρότερον) dispatched forces to besiege Perugia, who now urge him to come and hasten the outcome (7.25.1–2). He elects to make a speech (3), which is rendered in full (4–24), and then decamps for Perugia (*ibid.*).

Stung by his critics and keen to regain the momentum by intensifying the Gothic siege of the imperial garrison at Perusia, Totila makes a speech that commences, in Procopius' retelling, with a rhetorically and contextually apt allusion to Pericles' last speech in Thucydides (*Wars* 7.25.4–24; Thuc. 2.60–64). Not unlike Totila, Pericles had left Attica undefended and exposed to Peloponnesian incursions, which, exacerbated by plague, had turned public opinion against him.² Like Pericles, Totila chastises his audience for their unjustified anger (*orgê*) toward him and advances his superior judgement (*gnômê*) in responding to the capriciousness of fortune (*tychê*). As we shall see, Procopius' account turns upon the capacity for self-subversion implicit in the Thucydidean thematisation of the opposition between *orgê* and *gnômê* in responding to the complexity of human events.³

With reference to the themes of this volume, this chapter discusses the ways in which ancient readers of Thucydides, notably Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Aelius Aristides, evaluated Pericles' last speech as a specimen of deliberative or forensic rhetoric embedded within a larger historiographical narrative. For these readers, a speech that ought to have been conciliatory in the event stands out in the text for inciting rather than soothing the passions of its audience. To the extent, then, that Totila's speech in Procopius alludes to or evokes Pericles' last speech in Thucydides, the impression that the speech confuses Thucydides' authorial voice with Pericles' embedded voice furnishes us with a critical framework not only for evaluating Procopius' own choices and stances but also for assessing Procopius' own responses as a reader of Thucydides.

Meanwhile (ἐν τούτῳ), John (the nephew of Vitalian, *PLRE* III: 652–61 s.v. Ioannes 46), stymied in his siege of Acherontia (Acerenza; cf. *Wars* 7.23.18), 'conceived a daring plan (Ἰωάννη ... ἔννοιά τις καὶ τόλμα γέγονεν), which not only effected the rescue of the Roman senate, but also caused him to win for himself an extraordinarily great renown among men' (7.26.1): details are summarised below. The episode concludes with details of John's narrow escape from Totila's clutches under cover of darkness; Procopius closes with the tag, 'thus were the armies in Italy engaged' (7.27.1).

These three chapters accordingly bracket Totila's frustrations, on one hand, with symmetrical accounts of daring and resourcefulness on the part of imperial commanders, on the other. J.B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), 2: 244–9, fills in the larger picture while closely paraphrasing Procopius; see also Ernst Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* II (Paris/Brussels/Amsterdam 1949), 584–9. On Totila's leadership, see E.A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians: The Decline of the Western Empire* (Madison, 1982), 77–91; Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988), 353–61; Peter Heather, *The Goths* (Malden, 1996), 267–71; John Moorhead, 'Totila the Revolutionary', *Historia* 49 (2000), 382–6; *idem*, 'The Byzantines in the West in the Sixth Century', in Paul Fouracre, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 2005), 1: 127–9. Translations of Procopius are those of H.B. Dewing's Loeb edition (Cambridge, MA, 1914–40) unless otherwise noted.

² On the context, see Harvey Yunis, *Taming Democracy: Models of Political Rhetoric of Classical Athens* (Ithaca, NY, 1996), 83–5.

³ W.R. Connor, *Thucydides* (Princeton, 1984), 59.

Limitations of space preclude a detailed discussion and comparison of the two speeches, both of which are lengthy and in the nature of things focused closely upon the concrete details of the strategic position of the respective parties in their historically contingent circumstances. Lia Raffaella Cresci has already noticed the connection between Totila and Pericles, and indeed between these two speeches.⁴ Concentrating therefore upon the narrative frame within which the speeches are introduced and upon the openings of the speeches themselves – as indeed the ancient readers already mentioned do – the following discussion will investigate in some detail how an implied reader of Procopius, upon encountering Totila's speech, might experience a flash of recognition arising out of what we might call 'genre confusion', which represents an invitation to consider whether a more thorough comparison with Thucydides is warranted.⁵

Both Thucydides' Pericles and Procopius' Totila face the challenge of reasserting their authority in an atmosphere of general discontentment and second-guessing that has arisen in reaction to an unpropitious turn of events. Each of them adopts an unrepentant stance and insists that his listeners, were they to adopt a fuller and more dispassionate point of view, must acknowledge the fundamental soundness of the course of action they have committed themselves to pursue. Once the contextual aptness of the two situations has been recognised, the extent to which Procopius has patterned the opening of Totila's speech upon the corresponding material in Thucydides becomes apparent. The two passages are reproduced below with underscoring, on one hand, to mark areas of substantive overlap, and with italics, on the other, to indicate details in Thucydides that lack parallels in Procopius:

(Thuc. 2.59.3–60.1)⁶

ὁ δὲ ὄρων αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χαλεπαίνοντας⁷ καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἤλπιζε, ^Bξύλλογον ποιήσας⁸ (^Cἔτι δ' ἐστρατήγει⁹) ^Cἐβούλετο θαρσύναι τε καὶ

⁴ Lia Raffaella Cresci, 'Aspetti della mimesis in Procopio', *Δίπτυχα* 4 (1986–87), 232–49, esp. 239–41. On Thucydidean *imitatio* see now Diether Roderick Reinsch, 'Byzantine Adaptations of Thucydides', in Antonios Rengakos and Antonis Tsakmakis, ed., *Brill's Companion to Thucydides* (Leiden, 2006), 755–78, esp. 759–64.

⁵ An 'implied reader', in Wolfgang Iser's definition, 'embodies all those predispositions necessary for a literary work to exercise its effect' (*The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* [Baltimore, 1978], 34). The documented responses of Dionysius and Aristides, as 'real' or empirical readers of Thucydides (op. cit., 28), offer a basis for isolating and identifying key 'predispositions' on the part of an implied reader of Procopius' *Wars*, particularly as these relate to distinctions among genres. On Thucydides' implied readers the recent discussion of Emily Greenwood, *Thucydides and the Shaping of History* (London, 2006), esp. 1–18, is particularly stimulating; also Connor, *Thucydides*, *passim*.

⁶ Trans. Benjamin Jowett (2nd ed., Oxford, 1900).

⁷ Cf. Thuc. 2.22.1, Περικλῆς δὲ ὄρων μὲν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν χαλεπαίνοντας.

⁸ Cf. Thuc. 2.22.1, ἐκκλησίαν τε οὐκ ἐποίει αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ξύλλογον.

⁹ Cf. Thuc. 2.21.3, στρατηγὸς ὢν.

ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης¹⁰ πρὸς τὸ ἡπιώτερον καὶ ἀδεέστερον καταστήσαι.^F παρελθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

‘Καὶ ^Fπροσδεχομένω μοι τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν ἔς με γεγένηται (αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ τὰς αἰτίας) ^Gκαὶ ἐκκλησίαν τοῦτου ἔνεκα ξυνήγαγον, ὅπως¹¹ ὑπομνήσω καὶ μέμψωμαι εἴ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἢ ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε ἢ ^Hταῖς ξυμφοραῖς εἴκετε.

^AHe saw that they were exasperated by their misery and were behaving just as he had always anticipated that they would. ^BAnd so, being still general, he called an assembly, ^Cwanting to encourage them and ^Dto convert their angry feelings into a gentler and more hopeful mood. ^EAt this assembly he came forward and spoke as follows:

^F*I was expecting this outburst of indignation; the causes of it are not unknown to me.* ^GAnd I have summoned an assembly that I may remind you of your resolutions and reprove you for your inconsiderate (μὴ ὀρθῶς) anger against me, and ^Hwant of fortitude in misfortune.’

(Proc. Wars 7.25.3–4)

^AΤουτίλας δὲ οὐ λίαν ἐς τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα προθυμουμένους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀρῶν ^Cπαραίνεσιν τινα ποιεῖσθαι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἤθελε. ^Bδιὸ δὴ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ^Eἔλεξε τοιάδε:

^FὍρων ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες, ξυστρατιῶται, ἐμὲ μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς δι’ ὀργῆς ἔχοντας, ^Hἀγανακτοῦντας δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς τύχης ξυμπεπτωκὸς ἐναντίωμα, ^Gξυναγαγεῖν τανῦν ἔγνωνκα, ὅπως ^Dὑμῶν δόξαν ὡς ἥκιστα ὀρθῆν ἀφελὼν ἀντικαθιστάναι τὴν γνώμην ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω¹² δυνήσωμαι, καὶ μήτε ἀχαριστεῖν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκον ἐς ἐμὲ δόξητε μήτε ἀγνωμοσύνη εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας χρῆσθαι.

¹⁰ The phrase ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης is discussed by Connor, *Thucydides*, 58 with n. 19, who translates: ‘drawing off the empassionment of their resolution’; cf. Thuc. 2.22.1, τοῦ μὴ ὀργῇ τι μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ ξυνελθόντας ἐξαμαρτεῖν. See also Ugo Fantasia, *Tucidide. La Guerra del Peloponneso. Libro II* (Pisa, 2003), 455–6 *ad loc.*

¹¹ E.C. Marchant, *Thucydides: Book II* (London, 1891; repr. 1993), 200, observes *ad loc.*: ‘ὅπως—the subjunctive is certainly to be preferred to the fut. indic. here, as this is a pure final clause. *M. T.* [W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb* (Boston, 1890)] 364 [pp. 129–30], (ὅπως is Thuc.’s favourite final particle, but is rare in other prose authors except Xen.).’

¹² H. Braun, *Procopius Caesariensis quatenus imitatus sit Thucydidem* (diss. Erlangen, 1885), 17–18, compares Thuc. 2.65.9 (Pericles: δεδιότας αὐτὸν ἀλόγως ἀντικαθίστη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν ‘and again, when they were afraid without reason, he would likewise erect their spirits and embolden them’) with Wars 4.11.37 (the commanders of the Mauri, facing Solomon: βουλόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν αὐτῆς ἀντικαθιστάναι ‘wishing to recall their host to confidence again’), 5.23.14 (Belisarius: τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀρῶν [εὐρῶν J. Haury and G. Wirth, ed. (Leipzig, 1964)] ...

^ANow Totila saw that the barbarians were not very eager to carry out his orders, ^Cand so he desired to deliver an exhortation to them. ^BWith this in view, he called them all together ^Eand spoke as follows.

^FI have observed, fellow-soldiers, that you are cherishing toward me an unjustified (οὐκ ὀρθῶς) anger, and at the same time that ^Hyou bitterly resent that adversity of fortune which has befallen us; ^Gfor this reason I have decided to bring you together on the present occasion, in order ^Dthat I may be able to remove from your minds an impression which is absolutely wrong and bring you back to a better judgment, and also ^Gthat you may appear neither to show me an ingratitude which ill befits you, nor to be led by base motives to assume a thankless attitude toward the Deity.⁷

Procopius' version reads like a close paraphrase of Thucydides,¹³ and the sense and, perhaps most strikingly, the syntax of the two passages track quite closely. In particular, both Pericles and Totila castigate their listeners for becoming discouraged by misfortune and, consequently, for allowing *gnômê* to be clouded by *orgê* that is unjustifiably focused upon the author of the policy. Both Pericles and Totila propose to dispel that cloud and to bring their audiences into a more reasonable state of mind.

At the same time, it is notable that Procopius touches on each of these points while omitting from Totila's speech, and declining to confirm in his own voice, any suggestion that Totila has mirrored Pericles by anticipating these developments and diagnosing their causes. Unlike Pericles, in other words, Totila does not claim to have foreseen the unfortunate turn of events confronting him. Arguably Totila strikes a more conciliatory tone by addressing his audience as 'fellow-soldiers' (ἄνδρες ξυστρατιῶται),¹⁴ where Pericles declines to use the vocative at all, and

πεφοβημένους ... ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἀντικαθίστη 'seeing/finding that the soldiers ... dreaded [the attack of the enemy] ... he restored their confidence'), 5.7.11 (Theodatus: αἰεὶ αὐτὸν ἡ παροῦσα τύχη ἀλόγως τε ... καὶ αὐθις ἐξ ἄφατόν τι ἀντικαθίστη θράσος 'the present fortune always ... [terrified] him contrary to reason ... and again brought him to the opposite extreme of unspeakable boldness'), 'similiter' 7.25.4 (as quoted).

¹³ Compare the looser paraphrase of Aelius Aristides in *Or.* 28.71, cited below.

¹⁴ In earlier speeches to the Goths attributed to Totila in the *Wars*, he addresses the army (ὁ τῶν Γόθων στρατός) as 'my kinsmen' (ὃ ἄνδρες ξυγγενεῖς, 7.4.10) on the occasion of his accession; subsequently, he addresses 'the most notable men (οἱ δοκιμώτατοι) among the barbarians' as 'fellow-soldiers' (ὃ ξυστρατιῶται, 7.8.14–15), and 'all the Goths' likewise (ἄνδρες ξυστρατιῶται, 7.21.1). Elsewhere this mode of address is attributed to Belisarius (3.19.2, 4.15.16, 5.28.6; see also 3.12.20); to Tzazon, brother of the Vandal king Gelimer (4.2.24); to the commanders of the Mauri prior to battle against Solomon in North Africa (4.11.38); to the Roman mutineer Stotzas (4.15.54); to Germanus in rallying his troops against Stotzas (4.16.12); to Vitigis following the assassination of Theodatus/Theodahad (5.11.12); to Hildebad upon his accession (6.30.18); to the imperial garrison commanders Odonachus and

by couching the final clause announcing his reason for convoking the gathering in less pointed and provocative terms: Pericles intends to remind and reprove his listeners (ὅπως ὑπομνήσω καὶ μέμψωμαι), while Totila merely hopes to be able (ὅπως ... δυνήσωμαι) to bring them round to his point of view.

Neither speech has escaped criticism. Berthold Rubin described Totila's speech as '*schulrhetorisch mit wenig sachlichem Inhalt*', and Averil Cameron dismissed it as an example of Procopius' penchant for heavy moralising,¹⁵ while Dionysius of Halicarnassus, as has already been mentioned, faults Thucydides for rendering Pericles' last speech in language better suited to historiographical narrative (*historikon schēma*) than an *apologia*. Correspondingly, the historian stands accused of confusing his authorial voice with the embedded voice of the speaking Pericles (Dion. Halic., *De Thuc.* 43–4):¹⁶

(43) The defense (*apologia*¹⁷) of Pericles in the second book which he made on behalf of himself when the Athenians were exasperated because he persuaded them to undertake the war, I do not approve in its entirety. [Here Dionysius discusses other speeches of which he does not approve ...] (44) [... on Thuc. 2.60.1:] Such language as this was suitable (προσῆκοντα) for Thucydides writing about the man in the form of a narrative (ἐν ἱστορικῷ σχήματι), but it was not appropriate (ἐπιτήδεια) for Pericles who was defending himself against an angry crowd especially so at the beginning of his defense before he had tempered the anger of men, who were naturally out of sorts because of their misfortunes, with arguments of another nature (πρὶν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἀπομειλίξασθαι λόγοις τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν εἰκότως ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἀχθομένων) ... Besides, the form of censure was entirely inappropriate (οὐ ... πρεπωδέστατον) to the thought

Babas in preparation for leading a sally out of Archaeopolis in Lazica (8.14.14); to John and Valerian prior to the battle of Sena Gallica (8.23.14); and to Totila prior to the battle of Busta Gallorum (8.30.7 – Narses, in contrast, addresses his forces in the corresponding speech [8.30.1] simply as 'my men', ὦ ἄνδρες).

Suetonius reports that after the civil wars Augustus never addressed his troops as fellow-soldiers (*commilitones*), but only as soldiers (*militēs*), and forbade his family members from doing so (*Aug.* 25.1; cf. *Jul.* 67.2). Subsequent emperors were less fastidious; see J.B. Campbell, *The Emperor and the Roman Army* (Oxford, 1984), 32–9. The Gothic successors of Theodatus/Theodahad are the only monarchs who speak in such a manner in the *Wars*.

¹⁵ Berthold Rubin, *Prokopios von Kaisareia* (Stuttgart, 1954 = RE 23/1 [1957] 273–599), col. 219; Averil Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1985), 149.

¹⁶ Trans. W. Kendrick Pritchett, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: On Thucydides* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975).

¹⁷ Cf. schol. Thuc. 2.60.1 (C. Hude, ed. [Leipzig, 1927; repr. 1973]): δημηγορία Περικλέους πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. On the classification of the speech within the three canonical genres (demegoric, epideictic, dicanic) see the remarks of Fantasia, *La Guerra del Peloponneso*, 456–7.

where there was need of conciliation. For orators ought not to stir up but to calm the anger of the masses (οὐ γὰρ ἐρεθίζειν προσήκει τὰς τῶν ὅχλων ὀργὰς τοὺς δημηγοροῦντας ἀλλὰ παῦναι).

In a comparable but less censorious vein, Aelius Aristides, in his *Oration* 28, can admire the sheer cheek (*phronêma*) of Pericles' last speech while echoing Dionysius in asking, 'Was this your work, Thucydides, or was it Pericles'?' (Ael. Arist., *Or.* 28.71–2).¹⁸

(71) You would also find that there is pride (*phronêma*) in Thucydides throughout his whole history. First of all for the most part his speakers share in this characteristic both when they speak as cities and as individuals. Who does not know the character of his Pericles, if you have even heard of the name of Pericles? ... [W]hen the land was being destroyed by war, when those in the city were perishing through the plague, when all attacked him and were angry at him as if he alone were the cause of their troubles, then he came forward and spoke somewhat as follows: 'I expected these things, O men of Athens, and you do wrong in that you are angry (καὶ ἀδικεῖτε ὅτι ὀργίζεσθε). For I am', he says, 'in every way the best man among you', as if he were some Homeric Zeus.

(72) And one would be less amazed at his other arguments. But, O Zeus and you other gods! That a man who was an orator and a general, who was speaking in the assembly and was suspected by the people, perhaps even for this oratorical ability, did not guard against this or conceal it as inimical to him! That when he ought to have made excuses and said what any other man would have (παρατεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν ἅπερ ἂν τις καὶ ἄλλος), 'And do not think, O men of Athens, that by means of my oratorical ability either at the start I persuaded you or now think that you should be confident about the present circumstances—', instead of such subtlety and concealment, he said that along with his other accomplishments he was superior in this respect, because he was also the best speaker among them, and that right at the beginning of his speech! For I seem more or less to remember his words. Was this your work, Thucydides, or was it Pericles'? (πότερον οὖν σὸν, ὦ Θεουκιδίδη, ἡ Περικλέους ἦν;)

Both of these ancient readers of Thucydides, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Aelius Aristides, destabilise the relationship between the authorial voice of Thucydides the composer of historical narrative, on the one hand, and the embedded voice of Pericles the orator, squaring off against an angry crowd, on the other. They reach this point on the basis of a judgement that Pericles is made to speak in a manner other than his situation calls for – that is, to say what is not *to prepon*. Pericles

¹⁸ Περὶ τοῦ παραφθέγγματος 'Concerning a remark in passing', trans. Charles A. Behr, *P. Aelius Aristides. The Complete Works*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1981–86).

provokes when he ought to conciliate; he magnifies himself when he ought to self-deprecate; he doubles down when he ought to fold.

Dionysius and Aristides part ways, however, in how they account for the difference between what Thucydides' Pericles says and what he ought to say. For Dionysius the discrepancy is a function of Thucydides' ineptitude or literary perversity. Thucydides goes astray by superimposing his own authorial judgements about the historical Pericles upon the *apologia* of the embedded Pericles, confusing the latter's voice with his own (Dion. Halic. *De Thuc.* 45):

... Indeed the invention of the very best arguments and thoughts is not in itself an object worthy of serious effort, if they are not appropriate (μὴ ... προσήκοντα) to the events, the speakers, the occasions, and everything else <connected with them>. But <the fact is> as I said at the outset, the historian (ὁ συγγραφεύς), giving expression to his own view about the merits (περὶ ... ἀρετῆς) of Pericles, seems to have spoken these words contrary to the proprieties of the occasion (παρὰ τόπον). The writer ought himself to have expressed whatever views he desired about the statesman, but ought to have put in his mouth, when he was in danger, words that were humble and calculated to conciliate the anger <of his audience> (τῷ δὲ κινδυνεύοντι τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ παραιτητικοὺς τῆς ὀργῆς ἀποδοῦναι λόγους). Such a course would have been befitting a writer who was desirous of giving a picture of the truth (πρέπον τῷ μιμεῖσθαι βουλομένῳ συγγραφεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειαν).

According to Dionysius, then, it is incompatible with truth – and therefore inconceivable – that an orator should choose to say other than what the occasion demands.¹⁹ Dionysius responds adversely to Pericles' last speech precisely because it takes Thucydides' reader out of the narrative by presenting her with what she cannot help but see as an implausibility. Aristides, in contrast, acknowledges the generic impropriety of the speech as a specimen of deliberative rhetoric, but for him this is precisely the point. The rhetorical inelasticity of Thucydides' Pericles, his unwillingness to bow before the conventions of genre any more than before the angry crowd, remains consistent with the indomitable character Thucydides has constructed throughout the account as a whole.

This is a refrain in Aristides' portrait of Pericles in his *Oration* 3, where he again turns to Pericles' last speech (3.85):²⁰ 'in the midst of danger and deserted on all sides, one might say, he did not fear nor give way, nor change his resolve as one changes complexion, for he remained equally opposed to his fellow citizens and the enemy.' We should accordingly understand the question Aristides

¹⁹ As Greenwood, *Thucydides and the Shaping of History*, 71–2, points out, Dionysius here is unconcerned with the historicity of Pericles' last speech, but regards it as a composition of Thucydides: he 'expects a model of conventional political rhetoric' that is 'audience-centered, conciliatory, and pragmatic'.

²⁰ Πρὸς Πλάτωνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων 'To Plato: In Defense of the Four', trans. Behr.

poses in *Oration* 28 – that is, whether the recalcitrant quality of the speech is characteristic of Thucydides' authorial voice or the voice of the embedded Pericles – not as problematising the relationship between the two voices in the manner of Dionysius but instead collapsing that relationship. The 'genre confusion' Dionysius deprecates, Aristides celebrates. While both of them agree as readers of Thucydides that the speech is maladroit – an opinion, incidentally, that a third ancient reader of Thucydides, Plutarch, does not seem to have shared²¹ – they reach sharply diverging conclusions about whether it effectively characterises the speaker and to that extent reflects an effective authorial strategy.

Turning now once again to Procopius, we seem justified in asking in the first place whether the maladroit qualities Dionysius and Aristides detect in the opening words of Pericles' last speech are apparent also in Totilia's speech to the Goths prior to the siege of Perusia.

One way of approaching the question is to think about comparable situations in Procopius' *Wars*. Such a situation is the episode in the Vandal War in which Belisarius provokes hostility on the part of the allied and imperial expeditionary forces in North Africa by summarily executing a pair of Hunnic soldiers for a breach of discipline (*Wars* 3.12.10–13, modified):²²

(10) And since all, and especially the relatives of these two men, were angry (ἔδυσχέρινον) and declared that it was not in order to be punished nor to be subject to the laws of the Romans that they had entered into an alliance ... and since they were joined in voicing the accusation against the general even by Roman soldiers (ξυνεθρύλλουν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐξ τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰτίαν καὶ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι), who were anxious that there should be no punishment for their offences, Belisarius called together both the Massagetae and the rest of the army and spoke as follows:

(11) 'If my words were addressed to men now for the first time entering into war, it would be necessary for me to make a long speech about how great a help is justice for gaining the victory. (12) For those who do not understand the fortunes (*tychai*) of such struggles think that the outcome of war lies in strength of arm alone. (13) But you, who have often conquered an enemy not inferior to you in

²¹ Plutarch, *Mor.* 803b, *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* ('Precepts of Statecraft'), trans. Harold North Fowler, Loeb ed., vol. 10 (1936): 'And in general, loftiness and grandeur of style are more fitting for political speech (καθόλου δ' ὁ μὲν ὄγκος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῷ πολιτικῷ μᾶλλον ἀρμόττει); examples are the Philipppics and among the speeches in Thucydides that of the ephor Sthenelaïdas [Thuc. 1.86], that of King Archidamus at Plataea [2.72], and that of Pericles after the pestilence [2.60].' See further Fantasia, *La Guerra del Peloponneso*, 462 ad Thuc. 2.60.5.

²² I have discussed the context of this incident in 'Procopius and Thucydides on the Labors of War: Belisarius and Brasidas in the Field', *TAPA* 130 (2000), 149–87, esp. 159–71.

strength of body and well-endowed with valor, you who have often tried your strength against your opponents, you, I think, are not ignorant that, while it is men who always do the fighting in either army, it is God who judges the contest as seems best to Him and bestows the victory in battle.'

Belisarius' speech on this occasion opens in a manner that seems fully to conform with Dionysius and Aristides' sense of generic propriety. Belisarius affects relief that he need not embark on a lengthy and elaborate speech, on account of the fact that he is addressing seasoned veterans who well understand for themselves the role divine favour plays in securing victory. His tone is firm, but conciliatory, and Belisarius refrains from engaging in recriminations or reacting defensively.²³

This comparison gains force because Totila presents himself not as a king addressing subjects but, as we have already noticed, a general addressing 'fellow-soldiers'.²⁴ At the same time, we have also noticed how, in comparison with the opening of Pericles' last speech, Totila declines to congratulate himself for anticipating the hostility his setbacks have engendered and couches the purposes for which he has convened the assembly rather less imperiously than Pericles. We can agree, then, in the spirit of Dionysius and Aristides, that Totila's speech is maladroit in a way that Belisarius' is not, while also acknowledging that Totila has pulled in his horns somewhat in comparison with Pericles.

Once we posit an intertextual relationship between Procopius' Totila and Thucydides' Pericles, moreover, we ramify the substantive disagreement we identified between Dionysius and Aristides – that is, whether Thucydides ineptly confuses, or rather deliberately collapses, the relationship between the authorial voice of the historian and the embedded voice of the orator. We might pose the corresponding question for Procopius, but Procopius' position as a reader of Thucydides introduces an additional layer of literary representation. As readers of Procopius, we are invited to consider not only, à la Dionysius, whether Procopius causes Totila to speak 'contrary to the proprieties of the occasion' (παρά τόπον) by giving expression to the historian's own views about Totila, but also whether Procopius causes Totila to speak in a manner that gives expression to Thucydides' views about Pericles. In other words, if we hear Procopius' Totila ventriloquising

²³ Procopius is likewise at pains to emphasise that Totila spoke 'gently and with no excitement' (πρῶς τε καὶ ταραχῇ οὐδεμίᾳ, *Wars* 7.8.15) in responding to 'the most notable men among the barbarians' (see n. 14 above) when they petition him to dismiss an uncontested charge against one of his bodyguards (*doruphoroi*).

²⁴ Above, n. 14. Later in the same speech, Totila addresses his audience as 'my dearest Goths' (ὦ φίλτατοι Γόθοι, *Wars* 7.25.14). Comparable expressions are used by the *chanaranges* Gousanastades/Gushnaspad in advocating the assassination of the Sasanian king Cavades/Kavadh I (ὦ φίλτατοι Πέρσαι, 1.5.5) and by Totila's predecessor Vitigis in a letter to the besieged Gothic garrison at Auximum (ὦ φίλτατοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων, 6.26.8), promising relief that in the event he will be unable to provide. Perhaps such gestures smack of rhetorical over-reaching.

Thucydides' Pericles, we find Procopius putting, not only his own views, but also Thucydides' views, in Totila's mouth. We find ourselves recasting Aristides' question on a different discursive plane: 'was this your work, Procopius, or was it Thucydides'?'²⁵

Acknowledging the intertextual dimension of Procopius' project, therefore, helps us to understand how his account of the Gothic war exploits 'genre confusion' in order to shape the views of Procopius' readers about Totila. Indeed, the sequel of Totila's speech, Procopius' narrative of the siege of Perugia, illustrates just how far Totila's susceptibility to *orgê* rather than his contestable understanding of the vicissitudes of *tyché* circumscribes his ability to anticipate and influence the course of events.

We have seen already how Totila's speech aspires to Periclean *phronêma* without quite pulling it off. Indeed, Totila complains that Belisarius' impetuosity has fortuitously overshadowed his own cautious planning: 'for he who has displayed daring (τολμήσας) beyond established bounds has been honoured by the notion of seeming efficacious (ἐννοία τοῦ δοκοῦντος δραστηρίου τετίμηται), while he who has refrained from danger with prudent judgment (προμηθεῖ γνώμη) but meets with ill success draws the responsibility for what happens ...' (*Wars* 7.25.15, modified). Yet the course of events subverts these claims. Perugia itself, a city that Totila breezily predicts will be easy to capture,²⁵ eludes his grasp (at least for the moment²⁶): his opponent, the enterprising Roman general John, proves to be quite as daring and far-sighted as Belisarius had been,²⁷ releasing Roman senators and their wives held by Goths in Campania while Totila's forces are still vainly absorbed in dislodging the imperial forces holding the city itself;²⁸ distracted thereafter from his objective at Perugia by news of John's success, Totila tracks him down in Lucania.²⁹ Fortuitously, the two forces come into contact in the middle of the night.³⁰

Procopius insists that, had Totila bided his time and brought his numerically far superior force to bear in daylight, he would have encircled and captured

²⁵ 'And you will achieve the mastery of Perugia without any trouble' (οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, *Wars* 7.25.20).

²⁶ Perugia finally fell to the Goths in 549, following the recall of Belisarius, after a siege of four years: *Wars* 7.35.2.

²⁷ Above, n. 1. Totila's assertion at the conclusion of his speech that mutual suspicion between Belisarius and John will prevent them from cooperating (*Wars* 7.25.22–4; cf. *Anec.* 5.7, 13–14), while not contradicted by the outcome of events, proves to be immaterial; Procopius has selected and arranged the material in 7.24–6 in a manner that shows how the intersection of uncoordinated acts of daring on the part of two Roman commanders inadvertently exposes Totila's shortcomings.

²⁸ *Wars* 7.26.2–14. He defeated a detachment of Gothic cavalry at Capua and sent the rescued captives to safety in Sicily.

²⁹ *Wars* 7.26.15–18.

³⁰ 'And it so turned out (ξυνηνέχθη) that they were there at night together with the barbarians' (*Wars* 7.26.19, modified).

John's entire force. 'But Totila, being now overmastered by violent passion (ὁργῇ ... πολλῇ) and not weighing the consequences with prudent judgment (οὐ προμηθεῖ γνώμῃ), reaped the fruits of his fatuous fury' (7.26.19). In spite of being surprised in their sleep, John and the majority of his forces manage to escape into the darkness.³¹

It seems clear, then, that the chief inference to be drawn, once Procopius' allusion to Thucydides in this instance has been recognised, is that, try as he might, Totila is no Pericles. Of course this is itself an intrinsically Thucydidean theme. Pericles' last speech is followed, as we know, by Thucydides' famous obituary (2.65) in which the historian expounds upon the statesman's singular ability to govern the unruly impulses of Athens' nominal democracy, a feat none of his successors could match. As Anthony Kaldellis and others have remarked, Procopius at the beginning of book seven of the *Wars* models his account of Belisarius' recall from Italy in 540 upon the obituary of Pericles. There is merit in Kaldellis's larger observation that, 'the hero of the second part of the work is the Gothic king Totila, and Procopius gradually ascribes to him all the virtues listed in Belisarius' encomium, particularly those that pertain to personal nobility.'³² The present discussion has suggested that the portrait of Totila (like Belisarius' portrait³³) is nevertheless carefully hedged.³⁴ Mobilising a sense of generic impropriety that, it has been argued here, remained available to readers of Procopius no less than the ancient readers of Thucydides, the sixth-century historian forges another intertextual link with his classical predecessor that, as his implied readers were likewise well equipped to appreciate and evaluate, serves as the vehicle for an examination of character.

³¹ *Wars* 7.26.20–24. On Procopius' estimate John's force originally numbered 1,000 (7.26.16) and Totila's 10 times as many (20); about 100 Romans perished in the night-time assault (23), which overran their camp (28). Procopius' anecdote about the capture and execution of a monoglot Armenian general known as Gilacius (PLRE 3 Gilacius, p. 536), whose speech was unintelligible to his Gothic interrogators apart from the words, 'Gilacius *strategos*', which he kept repeating (24–7), seems to merit inclusion precisely because Gilacius' fate was so *unrepresentative* of that of John's force on the whole: the Gothic dragnet was fit to catch only such a hapless fish out of water. On Gilacius see also Walter Pohl, 'Social Language, Identities, and the Control of Discourse', in Evangelos K. Chrysos and Ian N. Wood, eds, *East and West: Modes of Communication. Proceedings of the First Plenary Conference at Merida* (Leiden, 1999), 127–41, esp. 128–32.

³² Anthony Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2004), 198. See also Cresci, *Aspetti*, 241: 'la figura di Totila riceve in queste pagine procopiane uno spicco e uno spessore che fungono da contraltare polemico agli eccessi e all'incapacità dei bizantini e all'indecisione dello stesso Belisario.'

³³ See Pazdernik, *Procopius and Thucydides on the Labors of War*; *idem*, 'Xenophon's *Hellenica* in Procopius' *Wars*: Pharnabazus and Belisarius', *GRBS* 46 (2006), 175–206.

³⁴ Compare the contrasting assessments of Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, 2: 268–9, and Stein, *Bas-Empire*, 568–9.

Chapter 15

Technical Writing, Genre and Aesthetic in Procopius

Elodie Turquois

Introduction

In a seminal article on genre in Byzantine literature, Margaret Mullett refers to Procopius of Caesarea's period, the first half of the sixth century, as a 'time of great flux and mixing of genres, not in the sense of modulation or of inclusion but of sheer mixing'.¹ Amongst others, the works of Corippus show this generic dynamism, as do the works of the writers of the school of Gaza, John, Choricus and the other Procopius, as well as works belonging to the epistolary genre.² It is therefore not entirely surprising within this context that the works of Procopius offer this 'sheer mixing' of genre mentioned by Mullett. Although it could be said that all three of his works fall under the greater heading of historical writing – and his planned fourth work too as it was meant to be an ecclesiastical history³ – they all offer a different mixture of literary genres. Out of the three, the one which seems the easiest to classify would be the *History of the Wars*, which is often referred to as a classicising military history of Justinian's campaigns and is visibly inspired by the classical canon of historiography.⁴ Less straightforward are Procopius' other two works, the *Buildings* and *Secret History* – also considered as his more minor works, perhaps partially because of their problematic generic status and length, and perhaps as a result even of a certain prejudice directly related to the fact that they do not fit perfectly into one literary genre. The *Buildings* is often considered to be a sort of *basilikos logos* built solely around a single theme, that of imperial constructions. This quality makes it unique for an imperial encomion, since usually this theme is treated amongst many others. Furthermore, this work presents a great

¹ M. Mullett, 'The Madness of Genre', *DOP* 46 (1992), 237.

² See Chapter 20 in this volume – S. Bjornlie on *varietas* in Cassiodorus.

³ A. Kaldellis, 'The Date and Structure of Prokopios' Secret History and His Projected Work on Church History', *GRBS* 49 (2009), 585–616.

⁴ Authors whom Procopius visibly emulates are Thucydides, Herodotus, Polybius, Arrian and Herodian, amongst others, the same authors that Kaldellis argues made up the corpus of classical historiography in Byzantium; cf. A. Kaldellis, 'The Byzantine Role in the Making of the Corpus of Classical Greek Historiography: A Preliminary Investigation', *JHS* 132 (2012), 71–85.

variety of literary textures, from sophisticated ekphrases to topological surveys and lists of place names, as well as narrative episodes such as some supernatural vignettes dealing with miracles. But it could also be said to fall under the general heading of history, at least according to Procopius' introduction to his own work, which presents it in undeniably historiographical terms.⁵ As for the *Secret History*, it is just as much of a generic oddity as the *Buildings*, if not more. Adshead even goes as far as to argue that it is in fact made of three separate opuscula which were put together many centuries later: chapters 1 through 5 belonging to the genre of Milesian Tale, chapters 6 through 18 being an aetiology identifying the underlying causes of events, and finally chapters 19 through 30 falling into the category of financial pamphlet.⁶ Although the theory itself is not entirely convincing, it has the benefit of highlighting quite how jarring the various parts of this work can seem in terms of genre, and also how experimental and dynamic this text is in the way it borrows from a variety of literary genres, for example the ancient novel, in the way the first part is built around a travel-love narrative. Nevertheless, this work could also be said to fall under the general header of history according to Procopius' own presentation.⁷

The Rhetoric of Technicality

One aspect of Procopius' prose that is particularly striking and has not garnered much attention is its technicality. It is necessary, however, to consider what one means by technical, and whether technical writing can be considered a genre, or a useful generic category, as well as whether the technical has to be constructed in opposition to what is accepted as literary. Talking about sciences during the Second Sophistic such as astrology, physiognomics and medicine, Barton argues that it is possible 'to look at these ancient *scientiae* as rhetorical and to see the practitioners as attempting to persuade their audiences that they offer knowledge'.⁸ Not only do modern distinctions between science and pseudo-science therefore appear to be inapplicable and anachronistic, but rhetoric and scientific knowledge also emerge as deeply interconnected in this period. Furthermore, the relationship between knowledge and power in the Roman empire is very interesting; in a volume edited by Whitmarsh and König which looks at a variety of authors and topics, such as medicine, engineering, finance, astrology and etymology, the editors state that 'the period of the first three centuries of the Roman empire saw a large-scale shift in the perception of intellectual labour: the fact of empire crucially changed the

⁵ Proc. *Aed.* 1.1.1–2.

⁶ K. Adshead, 'The Secret History and its Genesis', *Byzantion* 63 (1993), 5–28.

⁷ Proc. *Anecd.* 1.1.

⁸ T. Barton, *Power and Knowledge: Astrology, Physiognomics and Medicine under the Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor, 1994), 170. On the audience for military technical treatises, see C. Whately, Chapter 17 in this volume.

way in which knowledge was used, re-used, presented and represented.⁹ In terms of observing how this phenomenon continues in late antique culture and literary production, there is an undeniably encyclopedic aspect to some of the writing in this period: Isidore of Seville, for instance, compiles a great amount of varied information in his writing. As for Procopius, he similarly covers a great array of subjects in his works from etymology, geography, engineering, architecture to natural phenomena and paradoxography.

There are several reasons why the technical passages in Procopius have attracted no close literary scrutiny; on the one hand, it is related to the status of digressions in literature; on the other, it is a fact that literary critics often tend to steer clear of technical writing.¹⁰ However, these passages cannot be ignored, and they are particularly salient if one aims to situate Procopius in the history of literature, antique and late antique. In this chapter, I will limit myself to the digressions that deal with architecture and engineering, but the same features can be found in other types of technical digressions in his work.

First, one needs to examine how Procopius' writing tackles subjects of a technical nature, particularly in stylistic terms. There is arguably a limited amount of actual technical knowledge behind his descriptions, and it appears instead that their technical flavour is part of a rhetorical stance and is achieved through a variety of textual devices. It also appears that Procopius oscillates between two opposite strategies; one being to overwhelm his reader with an avalanche of details and to overcomplicate his discourse, the other to keep his descriptions as vague and impressionistic as possible. The description of Hagia Sophia in book 1 of the *Buildings* is a good example of the first phenomenon, and it is often reproached for being, at times, too difficult to follow, and is compared unfavourably to Paul the Silentiary's description of the church in verse. A good example of this style is the sentence where Procopius describes the church's famous pendentives:

καί ἡ μὲν τριγώνου ἐκάστη κρηπὶς πεπιεσμένη τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλας τῶν ἀψίδων ἐνέρσει ὀξεῖαν ποιεῖται τὴν κάτω γωνίαν, συναναβαίνουσα δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν εὐρυνομένη τῇ μεταξὺ χώρᾳ ἐς τὸ κυκλοτερές τελευτᾷ, ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, γωνίας τε τὰς λειπομένας ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται. (Proc. *Aed.* 1.1.44)

And while each base of a triangle, having been narrowed by the joining together of the arches to one another, makes the lower angle acute, yet, as it happens to be widened by the intermediate space, it finishes in a semi-circle, which the triangle supports, and forms the remaining angles there. (All translations are my own unless specified)

⁹ J. König and T. Whitmarsh, 'Ordering Knowledge', in J. König and T. Whitmarsh, eds, *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman World*, (Cambridge, 2007), 30.

¹⁰ Although literary approaches to these texts can be very fruitful; for example, see A. König, 'Knowledge and Power in Frontinus' *On Aqueducts*', in *Ordering Knowledge*, 177–205.

It is difficult to determine here whether Procopius is purposefully making his description unnecessarily complicated, or if this reflects a didactic concern that aims to educate the reader as thoroughly as possible about the plan of the church. The vocabulary used here does not appear to be particularly technical or difficult, but it is the way in which the description is structured which renders it hard to grasp, as if instead of explaining the shape of the pendentives in simple terms, and just exposing what they look like, Procopius chose to focus on the space around the pendentives, and to take his readers through it, going through the various lines and angles, giving his description a very geometrical aesthetic.

The same phenomenon is at play in the description of Justinian's statue, when Procopius describes the base of the column supporting the statue in the following terms:

ἐνταῦθα ξυνθῆκαι λίθων οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ἑπτὰ ἐν τετραγώνῳ πεποιήνται, κατὰ μὲν ἀπόθασιν ξυγκείμεναι πᾶσαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐκάστη τῆς ἔνερθεν οὐσῆς ἐλασσουμένη καὶ ἀποδέουσα, ὥστε δὴ τῶν λίθων ἕκαστον τῇ ἐμβολῇ προὔχοντα βαθμὸν γεγονέναι τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐκείνη ἀγειρομένους ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ βάθρων καθῆσται. (Proc. *Aed.* 1.2.1)

There is a structure of stones there made of no fewer than seven courses in a square, all of which are fitted together at their ends, and it is such that, because each course is smaller than the one below and is set back, each stone becomes a projected step through this setting, and that people assembled there sit on them as on seats.

Once more, Procopius chooses not to describe a feature of a monument as it appears at first sight, but instead builds its representation gradually, little by little, showing in the process how it is made. He starts by mentioning that there are seven courses of stones, attracting the attention of the reader to the layered aspect of the structure, and then continues by saying how they are attached and how each one recedes from the one it is laid on. He could have written from the beginning that the base of the column resembles steps, but he does not use the word *βαθμὸν* until he has finished explaining how the stones were laid. This descriptive technique of going on a tour of the object described, part by part, on one hand could be said to serve the *periegetic* purpose of ekphrasis as described in the *Progymnasmata*,¹¹ but it also contributes to giving the technical and architectural feel to Procopius' descriptions.

This focus on the structure of buildings and their architectural anatomy is even more obvious in the passage which follows from the description of the base and deals with the column itself:

¹¹ For example, in Hermog. *Prog.* 22.7 and Aphth. *Prog.* 36.21. On ekphrasis as periegetic discourse see S. Dubel, 'Ekphrasis et enargeia: la description antique comme parcours', in C. Lévy and L. Pernot, *Dire l'évidence (philosophie et rhétorique antiques)*, (Paris, 1997), 249–64.

ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν λίθων ὑπερβολῇ κίων ἐπ' ἀνέστηκεν ἑξαίσιον ὅσον, οὐ μονοειδὴς μέντοι, ἀλλὰ λίθοις ἐν περιδρόμῳ εὐμεγέθεσι σύνθετος, ἐγγωνίοις μὲν τῇ ἐντομῇ οὖσιν, ἐς δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν λιθοδόμων ἐναρμοσθεῖσι. (Proc. *Aed.* 1.2.2)

At the top of the stones rises a column of extraordinary size, not monolithic however, but made in a circular shape with large stones cut into squares and assembled together by the skill of the masons.

Procopius provides a variety of information here, such as the size of the stones, the way they are set, the way they are cut and assembled together. The details here demonstrate several concerns, one being a genuine concern for technical prowess – as Procopius mentions the craftsmanship of the masons – and another being an interest in stones and how they are fitted together, which appears often in the *Buildings*. With this description, the reader is able to paint himself a detailed picture of the column, not just in its overall appearance, but with an idea of the stones that compose it. Overall, technical details serve different functions in Procopius' text; they are a source of *enargeia*, rendering his descriptions more vivid, and they also allow him to represent himself as a knowledgeable narrator, and are part of his rhetorical self-presentation. There is undeniably an impression of technicality to the descriptions but when examined closely it is apparent first, that the vocabulary is quite accessible, and that the details given are not what a technical treatise would offer: there are, for example, no accurate measurements and only rare references to the devices used in the construction of the buildings described. The information provided is sufficient solely in order to get an impression and to visualise the monument in question.

At the other end of the scale from these descriptions that appear overcomplicated by an abundance of details, many descriptions seem rather vague and provide very limited – or even erroneous – information. There are many examples of these in the *Buildings*, not to mention the occasions where Procopius simply gives lists of places or of monuments without mentioning anything about them. An example of a very schematic description is that of the bridge on the Sarus, which is shown prior to Justinian's improvements:

At many points in the river piers of massive blocks of stone were reared upon its bed, built to a great thickness and forming a line extending across the entire width of the stream and in height rising far above high water. Above each pair of piers spring arches which rise to a great height, spanning the open space between them. The portion of this masonry which chanced to be below the water and so was constantly battered by its powerful current had, in a space of time beyond reckoning, come to be mostly destroyed. (Proc. *Aed.* 5.5.9–11, tr. Dewing)

In three sentences, Procopius sums up the appearance of the bridge. He does not provide much information, but rather gives an overall impression of it. The main purpose for the depiction is in order to explain how the bridge was unsatisfactory,

to serve the narrative of Justinian's improvements and the panegyric agenda of the *Buildings*, which is why the details given pertain mostly to the part of the bridge which was damaged and the explanation of why the damage occurred. It is interesting that even though there are many bridges in Procopius' work, none are given a description of considerable extent, and the depiction of the one on the Sarus is the most detailed. This is particularly of interest because of claims regarding Procopius' professional expertise, and the theory that he might have been an engineer – which may be challenged by the lack of accuracy of some of the digressions pertaining to engineering.¹²

The descriptions of siege-engines in the *History of the Wars* situated mostly in book V give elements of response to this theory. They appear to combine the strategy of overwhelming the reader with details in his more impressionistic and vague descriptive mode, leaving gaping holes in places. This is particularly striking in his description of the ballista.¹³ Regarding this description, Marsden argues that 'it appears that Procopius thought that some part of the stock travelled forward when the trigger was released, and then stopped, allowing the missile to continue its course. [...] Procopius' erroneous conception of the ballista's action inevitably reduces our confidence in the rest of his account.'¹⁴ Indeed, the heart of his account of the ballista which exposes how the machine functions is unquestionably vague:

σφίγγουσί τε σθένει πολλῶ οἱ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μηχαναῖς τισι, καὶ τότε ἡ κοίλη
κεραία προΐουσα ἐκπίπτει μὲν, ξὺν ῥύμῃ δὲ τοσαύτῃ ἐκπίπτει τὸ βέλος [...]
(Proc. *Bell.* 5.21.17)

And the men on either side [of the ballista] wind it with great force by means of some devices, then the hollow shaft being sent forward falls out, and the missile comes out with such force [...]

Not only is the mistake noted by Marsden obvious here, but the fact that Procopius uses the expression 'μηχαναῖς τισι', some devices, an incredibly vague term which he also uses for the machines themselves, appears to confirm his limited knowledge of the mechanics of siege-engines. What Procopius actually does in his account of the ballista is mostly to compare it to a bow in order to give his

¹² J. Howard-Johnston, 'The Education and Expertise of Procopius', *AnTard* 8 (2000), 19–30.

¹³ See the brief comparison of the descriptions of ballistae in Ammianus and Procopius in D. den Hengst, 'Preparing the Reader for War. Ammianus' Digression on Siege Engines', in J.W. Drijvers and D. Hunt, *The Late Roman World and its Historian: Interpreting Ammianus Marcellinus* (London, 1999), 30–31. Den Hengst's conclusion on Ammianus' siege engine digressions could also be applied to Procopius: 'The power of the literary tradition and the demands it imposed on the style of presentation produced this curious mixture of imprecision in the description of the technical aspects of the siege engines and vividness in the representation of the effects of these weapons', 39.

¹⁴ E. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, (Oxford, 1971), 246.

readership an impression of the engine, with the use of terms such as ‘the shape of a bow’ (5.21.14) or ‘they reproduce the general shape of the arrow’ (5.21.16), and compares its reach to that of a bow by saying it reaches twice as far (5.21.17). This constant comparison between the ballista and a bow is concluded by Procopius’ etymological explanation of the term ‘ballista’ as a combination of βάλλω and μάλιστα (5.21.18).

Another important issue raised by the technical descriptions in Procopius concerns not only the manner in which he presents his information, and what sort of information he privileges, but also the motivation behind the inclusion of these in his text. One explanation, argued by Kelso in the case of descriptions of artillery, is that they are part of Procopius’ classicising agenda.¹⁵ While this seems to be partly the case, it is worth adding some nuances to this view. For one thing, most classical historians do not have many technical digressions, and do not go into as much detail or cover their subject over such length. Herodotus is the classical historian with the most of these, and he is clearly a major influence on Procopius’ writing – as well as for many other post-classical authors, Heliodorus amongst others, whose novel has a very historiographical tinge. The praise of imperial constructions, which might include their description, is also a classical trope not just in encomium but also in historiography. A good example of this is Caesar’s own bridge on the Rhine in *Gallic wars* 4.17 which is part of his own self-aggrandisement as it praises his own technical virtuosity, and describes the construction in minute detail. But in some ways, Kelso’s arguments are almost more convincing in seeing this interest in artillery as something late antique. The other author whom he examines is Ammianus, who, he argues, is also describing artillery as part of a classicising agenda. The backbone of his argumentation is the fact that Lucian’s treatise *How to write history* advises these types of descriptions. However, Lucian is not classical himself and generally needs to be taken with a grain of salt. The *Progymnasmata* also recommend technical subjects in lists of suitable topics for ekphrasis. But aside from being fitting for the type of history Procopius is writing, and also for his ekphrastic mode of writing, technical descriptions are part of a greater literary strategy in his work, and part of his aesthetic.

Technology and *thaumata*

Technical digressions can also be looked at from another angle in Procopius, as they can be seen as part of his collection of curiosities, in a similar way to natural phenomena such as eclipses, comets, floods and plagues. An example of this type of technical excursus is the description of Indian boats in *Wars* 1.19.23–4, which could be said to be an ethnographical digression in a similar style to Herodotus’. The description is articulated around how differently the Indian boats are made, as they do not have any pitch or iron but use cording instead. This leads Procopius to

¹⁵ I. Kelso, ‘Artillery as a Classicizing Digression’, *Historia* 52 (2003), 122–5.

explain that there is no iron in India and Ethiopia. The curiosity for how the boats are made is therefore entirely connected to the ethnographical interest, and this also gives the occasion for Procopius to correct an erroneous theory according to which there are rocks in this sea that attract iron, which would be another explanation for the Indians not using iron nails and pitch. Another of Procopius' main foci, which appears in this example, is the celebration of human technological achievements. This is something that can be seen very strikingly in another example in the *Wars*, a digression on the Sabiri's ingenious improvements on the ram. Procopius praises the Sabiri's ingenuity in hyperbolic terms; starting by contrasting the Sabiri with the Romans and Persians in the following way:

οὗτοι ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίους εἶδον ἀπογνόντας τε καὶ ἀπορουμένους τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι, μηχανὴν τινα ἐπετεχνήσαντο, οἷα οὔτε Ῥωμαίων οὔτε Περσῶν τινι, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι, ἐς ἔννοιαν ἤλθε, καίτοι τεχνιτῶν μὲν πολλὸς ὄμιλος ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ γέγονέ τε ἀεὶ καὶ τανῦν ἐστίν. (Proc. *Bell.* 8.11.27)

When these people [the Sabiri] saw the Romans despairing and at a loss what to do in this situation, they designed a device, such as, neither among the Romans, neither among the Persians, since there have been men, anyone had ever thought of, although there has been a great throng of engineers in each nation, always and now.

This passage almost has a paradoxical tone. Procopius accentuates the fact that none of the Romans or Persians had thought of this before with the very hyperbolic proposition 'ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι' (since men have existed), and then adds the paradoxical second proposition introduced by καίτοι which accentuates the number of good engineers among both countries with the redundant 'πολλὸς ὄμιλος' (a great throng), as well as the exaggerative 'ἀεὶ καὶ τανῦν' (always and now). The other device which accentuates the Sabiri's ingenuity is the fact that the Romans are depicted in a contrastingly passive way with the two participles with privative prefixes, ἀπογνόντας (desperate) and ἀπορουμένους (at a loss). If Procopius' admiration of the Sabiri was not obvious by now, he still goes on at length after this about how odd it is that having been in the need of such a device to storm the walls of fortresses on rough ground, no one had thought of it before among the Persians and Romans (8.11.28). He then proceeds to the actual technical description, which is fairly detailed and includes internal and external information of the structure of this ram as well as the hides that cover it.

As well as admiring the ingenuity of human technical achievements, there is another form of admiration in Procopius' works, which is more aesthetic, for what one could refer to as visual *thaumata*. This is the case of the Appian Way in book 5 of the *Wars*. Procopius begins his description by mentioning its length, a five-day journey, and the two cities at its extremities, Rome and Capua. He then goes on to present its breadth as admirable:

εὖρος δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ὅσον ἀμάξας δύο ἀντίας ἰέναι ἀλλήλαις, καὶ ἔστιν ἀξιοθέατος πάντων μάλιστα [...] (Proc. *Bell.* 5.14.7)

And the breadth of the road is such that two wagons from opposite directions can pass each other, and it is one of the most worthy sights to see of all [...] ¹⁶

The two main points in this description are the rendering of its breadth and its quality of being a sight worth seeing. The breadth is evoked visually by the representation of two wagons in movement. ¹⁷ Procopius continues with another of the qualities of the Appian Way that are worth admiring as he goes on to describe its stones, which cannot be found anywhere else in this district, emphasising hence their rareness, and showing that they are also fitted in a special way: smoothed first, then cut in a polygonal shape and assembled without concrete. ¹⁸ This special process provides the road with a very organic aspect:

οἱ δὲ ἀλλήλοις οὕτω τε ἀσφαλῶς συνδέδενται καὶ μεμύκασιν, ὥστε ὅτι δὴ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἡρμοσμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐμπεφύκασιν ἀλλήλοις, δόξαν τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρέχονται [...] (Proc. *Bell.* 5.14.10)

And they [the stones] have been so securely fastened together and closed, that they give the impression to the onlooker not to be fitted together but of having grown together.

The supreme achievement of craftsmanship from the builders here seems to be the way they provided the road with an organic appearance, as if it had grown naturally, and the theme of art imitating nature is fairly common in Procopius' descriptions of buildings. ¹⁹ Finally, Procopius marvels at the resistance of the stones, which have not worn out, grown thin, or lost their polish. This ekphrasis of the Via Appia seems to concentrate many of Procopius' interests: in the means of travelling with the two wagons, the attention to the making of the built landscape with the fitting of stones, and finally Art and *Techne* as the imitation of Nature. This concentration of Procopian idiosyncrasies makes the ekphrasis of the Appian Way a noteworthy passage in his text.

¹⁶ It is worth noting the linguistic similarities between this and Thucydides 1.93.5, δύο γὰρ ἄμαξαι ἐναντίας ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπῆγον, where Thucydides also uses the image of the two wagons to give an indication of the breadth of the Piraeus wall.

¹⁷ The wagons also echo the four-horse chariot that provides an impression of the breadth of the fortification wall in Herodotus' description of Babylon in 1.179. Even if this is not a linguistic parallel, the comparison with the wagon or chariot to provide a visual representation of size as well as the use of ἀξιοθέατος give this a Herodotean flavour.

¹⁸ Again there is a parallel with Thucydides 1.93.5.

¹⁹ For example, note the comparison between the marbles of Hagia Sophia and a meadow in full bloom as well as the gold that looked as if it had grown naturally on the church of St Michael in *Buildings* I.

The paradoxical aspect of some of the technical descriptions in Procopius is particularly notable and demonstrates the extent of his generic flexibility. It is worth briefly mentioning how popular paradoxographical literature was in Late Antiquity, whether in Christian literature with collections of miracles, or the secular paradoxographers' collections of marvels such as that of Phlegon of Tralles. In this light, the long digression on the building of a dam in book II of the *Buildings* is interesting as it shows a mixture between a technical digression and a paradoxographical one, not to mention the encomiastic programme at play in this work. Procopius starts by giving an account of a dream of Chryses of Alexandria, one of the architects who appear in the *Buildings*. The scene is set with a certain amount of tension as Procopius depicts the state of Chryses as he goes to sleep, showing him distressed at hearing of the flood in Dara. The description of the dream then follows thus:

ἐδόκει οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄνειρῳ τις ὑπερφυῆς τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κρείσσων ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκάζεσθαι μηχανὴν τινα ἐπαγγέλλειν τε καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἣ ἂν διακωλύειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἱκανὴ εἴη ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῆς πόλεως μηκέτι μορμύρειν. (Proc. *Aed.* 2.3.4)

It seemed to him in his dream that some creature, enormous and in other respects too great to resemble a man demanded to be made and explained a certain device that would be able to keep the river from roaring and boiling ever again to the ruin of the city.

The paradoxical element here is due to the mysterious creature that appears to Chryses and is described in very similar terms to other supernatural apparitions in Procopius (cf. *Anecd.* 6.6). But in keeping with the subject of the *Buildings*, the creature gives Chryses advice on a construction to prevent the river flooding. Chryses interprets his dream as coming from a divine source and proceeds to write a letter to Justinian to tell him about his dream and how this construction could be built. The narrative then moves on to the state of things in the capital at the same time, depicting Justinian hearing of the flood. The emperor is just as distressed as Chryses as he is described as *ξυνταραχθεὶς καὶ περιώδυνος*, perturbed and deeply grieved. He is then represented summoning two of his architects, Anthemius and Isidorus, to discuss what should be done in the situation. This is when the second paradoxical event occurs:

βασιλεὺς δέ, θείας δηλονότι ἐπινοίας αὐτῷ γενομένης τινός, οὕπῳ τὰ Χρύσου ἰδὼν γράμματα, ἐπενόει τε καὶ ἐσκιαγράφει αὐτογνωμονήσας ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου ὃ δὴ τοῦ ὄνειρου ἐκτύπωμα ἦν (Proc. *Aed.* 2.3.8)

But the Emperor, manifestly moved by a divine inspiration having come to him, even though he had not yet seen the letter of Chryses, conceived and sketched out of his own judgement, against all odds, that same figure of the dream.

In this case, there is no ambiguity as to the origin of Justinian's inspiration, as it is clearly said to be divine (θείας), whereas in Chryses' example the nature of the apparition was not explicitly said to be divine – even if it was implied. Procopius even uses the adjective incredible (παράδοξος) to reinforce the paradoxical aspect of his narrative. The narrative of the genesis of the dam then continues with Justinian and his architects deciding to wait a little longer before making any decisions, and finally Chryses' letter reaching the emperor. This allows Procopius to give a panegyric interpretation of the event in this manner:

καὶ τότε δὴ βασιλεὺς τὸν τε πρὸς τοῦ Χρύσου σταλέντα καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐπιδείξας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄνείρου γεγонуῖαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔσομένῳ ὄψιν τε καὶ σκιαγραφίαν, κατεστήσατο αὐτοὺς ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ, ἐν νῷ ποιουμένους ὥς ἅπαντα ὁ θεὸς συνδιαπράσσεται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τὰ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ξυνοίοντα. (Proc. *Aed.* 2.3.13)

Then the Emperor, having shown the man sent by Chryses and the letter, and besides the vision of what had to be done that happened in the dream as well as the sketch, brought them into a great state of wonder, as they reflected on the fact God works together with this Emperor in that which will benefit the State.

The architects are represented here as an audience to witness and admire this supernatural event. They are represented in great awe (ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ), playing again with the theme of *thauma* which is very common in Procopius' text,²⁰ as well as being shown interpreting the phenomenon in encomiastic terms, as it allows them to consider the emperor's special relationship with God which is highlighted by the repetition of the prefix συν/ξυν (συνδιαπράσσεται and ξυνοίοντα). Procopius is combining here a typical paradoxical narrative – a classical epiphany dream – with elements of imperial panegyric, which also contains a Christian tinge.²¹ But the narrative goes on in a very different texture and genre as it turns to a technical description of the building of the dam. The passage is fairly extensive so it will suffice here to look at one sample sentence:

οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας δὲ τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα πεποιήται τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ μνηοειδὲς τετραμμένον, ὥπως ἂν τὸ κύρτωμα πρὸς τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιρροῇ κείμενον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀντέχειν τῷ ρέειθρῳ βιάζομένῳ δυνατόν εἴη. (Proc. *Aed.* 2.3.19)

This barrier has not been built in a straight line, but it has been turned into a crescent shape so that the curve, lying against the current of the river, is capable of resisting even more the stream's assault.

²⁰ For example, some examples of *thauma* at the sight of churches and other constructions in book I: 1.1.60, 1.3.16, 1.4.25, 1.4.29, 1.10.9.

²¹ On epiphany dreams, see W. Harris, *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity*, (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 23–49.

This passage seems to aim to explain how the forces apply on the dam in order to justify its shape. The clear and didactic qualities of this sentence are to be appreciated, particularly in comparison to some of the parts of the Hagia Sophia description. The vocabulary and syntax are fairly simple, even if the concept explained could be difficult to grasp. It is also striking how the narrative went from a paradoxical tale aimed at discussing the relationship between the Emperor and God to a much more materialistic discourse dealing with engineering and physics. This rich variety of texture and generic dynamism plays a great part in the Procopian aesthetic.

It is worth mentioning that the sentence we have just discussed that dealt with explaining how the shape of the dam enabled it to keep the river contained was not present in the early draft of the *Buildings*, nor are any of the passages from that text which I have examined in this chapter.²² In Chapter 13 of this volume, Federico Montinaro discusses the difference between the two versions and argues that some of the later additions are linked to imperial demands; he shows on the one hand the elements of criticism added in the later version, and demonstrates also that the technical passages are also more often than not only in the latter. Be that as it may, I would like to perhaps link these later developments to a potential reaction from an audience that influenced Procopius' writing choices. Without knowing for certain whom his intended audience was, one could very well imagine how retired officers or civil servants might have had an interest in reading about the technical aspects of Justinian's construction work. Furthermore, book VIII of the *Wars* contains a high concentration of digressions of various kinds, technical but also geographical, mythological and paradoxical. Procopius may have had his audience in mind in the later additions to the *Buildings*, just as in his composition of book VIII.

Conclusion

In a period rich with literature mixing genres, Procopius' corpus is emblematic with its variety of texture, and its richness of content, which appears almost encyclopaedic. Dealing with technical knowledge allows Procopius to represent himself as a learned author with expertise on a range of topics – and this rhetorical self-presentation is important in relation to the close connection between

²² For a side-by-side edition of the shorter and longer recensions of the *Buildings*, see F. Montinaro, *Études sur l'évergétisme impérial à Byzance*, École Pratique des Hautes Études-Sorbonne (Paris, 2013, unpublished dissertation). See also by the same author 'Byzantium and the Slavs in the Reign of Justinian. Comparing the Two Recensions of Procopius' *Buildings*', in V. Ivanišević and M. Kazanski, eds, *The Pontic-Danubian Realm in the Period of the Great Migration*, Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 36 / Arheološki institut, Posebna izdanja, Knjiga 51 (Paris/Belgrade, 2011), 89–114, and his contribution to this volume, Chapter 13.

knowledge and power from the imperial period onwards as mentioned earlier. Many of Procopius' technical digressions also appear to celebrate *technē* and human ingenuity, as well as being part of an aesthetic of hyper-visibility concerned not only with showing how things are made, but also what impressions or feelings they provoke in the viewer, in particular wonder and admiration. Finally, in terms of the generic horizon, it seems that technical writing, expected in genre such as periegesis, technical handbooks and works of an encyclopedic or miscellaneous nature, appears in Late Antiquity to have started becoming increasingly common within works of a classically narrative genre such as the novel or historiographical works. But the concept of technical writing in the ancient world is very complicated. In the case of Procopius, it would be interesting to examine this question in relation to his readership and its horizon of expectations. It seems that too often scholars have read his text in connection with his own personal interests and expertise as opposed to that of his readers. This is particularly fascinating in the case of the digressions on artillery in relation to the evolution of military technical writing in Late Antiquity, something that Conor Whately examines in this volume.²³ If Procopius has the most extant technical digressions on artillery in both classical and late antique historiography, it must have something to do with his audience, and the taste of his contemporaries.

²³ See C. Whately in Chapter 17.

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Chapter 16

A Justinianic Debate across Genres on the State of the Roman Republic

Marion Kruse

On 18 May 535, the Emperor Justinian promulgated three laws concerning the provincial administrations of Pisidia, Lycaonia and Thrace.¹ These were the first in a series of reforms of the eastern empire introduced in the course of the following year.² The spring of 535 was an exciting moment in Justinian's reign. His general Belisarius had, in 533–34, reconquered North Africa with unexpected ease, while in 534 Justinian's legal commission published the second edition of the *Codex*, completing its revision of Roman law. Following these successes, Justinian had dispatched Belisarius to North Africa the previous winter with orders to sail to Sicily in the spring before moving on to Italy; Justinian had begun his campaign to reconquer the Roman homeland from the Ostrogoths.

It was at this point, in the midst of what Honoré called the 'age of hope', that Justinian and his advisors chose to reform the administration of the eastern provinces. The readership of these laws is somewhat uncertain, but, dealing as they did with high posts in the imperial administration, they would certainly have been read closely by ambitious members of the senate and officials serving in the provinces, as well as by numerous bureaucrats and secretaries such as John Lydus and Procopius. Given the intended audience, as well as the unrest that reform might generate in a conservative society rife with special interests, it is no surprise that Justinian and his legal advisors sought to justify the necessity of the reforms enacted in these laws. What is surprising is the way in which they went about it, invoking the offices of the Republic as agents of imperial success. The historical content of *Novel* 24 introduces the question of genre, which is amplified by the uncertain expectations that would have accompanied new laws. Although there was by the sixth century a long history of imperial laws, the transmission of these laws, predominantly in the Theodosian Code and Justinian's *Codex*, has removed whatever prefatory material they may once have contained.³ Whatever generic

¹ The Christian context of these novels is discussed by M. Maas, *John Lydus: Antiquarianism and Politics in the Age of Justinian* (New York, 1992), 45–8; *idem*, 'Roman History and Christian Ideology in Justinianic Reform Legislation', *DOP* 40 (1986), 17–31.

² The last of the reform novels is dated 1 July 536: Just. *Nov.* 103.Ep (499.39–40). All citations to the *Novels* are from the Greek text.

³ Archaeology provides some exceptions, most notably Diocletian's price edict.

expectations a reader might have had for an imperial proclamation, it is safe to say that it would at least have been understood as distinct from history in either its classicizing or epitomic forms (about which more below).

Although the first three reform novels were published on the same day, they have an internal order, with *Novel* 24, concerning the province of Pisidia, explicitly identified as the first.⁴ Justinian's official voice, ghost-written here by Tribonian,⁵ begins this *Novel* not with a discussion of Pisidia, or even the administration of the provinces, but a historical interpretation of Rome's rise to empire:

We believe that the ancient Romans would never have been able to assemble so large a *politeia* from small, even trivial, beginnings and afterwards to have taken hold of and won for themselves the entirety of the inhabited world, so to speak, if they had not appeared more august by sending more senior magistrates into their provinces and granted them authority over both arms and laws, and if they had not had men who were competent and distinguished in both fields.⁶

Justinian assumes the persona of a critical historian, rather than the solicitous father-figure we find in his other laws.⁷ The subject Justinian has been investigating is the original rise of the Roman empire from small beginnings in Italy to the world empire it claimed to be at its height.⁸ One source of Rome's success, Justinian argues, was its use of senior magistracies, in particular the praetors, whose name Justinian attributes to their 'going before all others and establishing the battle line', as well as organizing military exercises and giving judgments concerning the law.⁹ This lexical antiquarian flourish both supports Justinian's claim to learnedness and draws attention to the two elements that make up not only the praetor's power, but also Justinian's own. Arms and laws are designated the special provinces of the praetor, but a reader in 535 would recognize that they were now those of the

⁴ Just. Nov. 24.1 (190.24–5).

⁵ T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (Ithaca, 1978), 117–38.

⁶ Just. Nov. 24.Pr (189.7–15): Καὶ τοὺς πάλοι Ῥωμαίους πεπιστεύκαμεν οὐκ ἂν ποτε δυνηθῆναι τοσαύτην πολιτείαν ἐκ μικρῶν καὶ ἐλαχίστων ἀρχῶν συστήσασθαι καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὡς εἰπεῖν, προσλαβεῖν τε καὶ καταστήσασθαι, εἰ μὴ μείζουσιν ἄρχουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις πεμπομένοις σεμνότεροί τε ἐντεῦθεν ἐφάνησαν καὶ παρέσχον αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν ὅπλων τε καὶ νόμων, καὶ πρὸς ἑκάτερον εἶχον αὐτοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους τε καὶ ἀξιοχρέους καθεστῶτας.

⁷ C. Pazdernik, 'Justinianic Ideology and the Power of the Past', in M. Maas, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (New York, 2005), 185–212 at 191.

⁸ For knowledge of the Republic in sixth-century authors see G. Greatrex, 'The Classical Past in Classicising Historians', presented at The Reception of Classical Texts and Images (January 1996), <http://www2.open.ac.uk/ClassicalStudies/GreekPlays/conf96/greatrex.htm#t13> (last accessed 15 July 2014).

⁹ Just. Nov. 24.1 (189.15–19): οὓς δὴ καὶ πραίτωρας ἐκάλουν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἰέναι καὶ παρατάττεσθαι ταύτην αὐτοῖς δόντες τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἐπιτρέψαντές τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ διοικεῖν καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων γράφειν.

emperor himself. The conquest of Africa, the codification of the laws, and the invasion of Sicily gave ample evidence of Justinian's expertise in both fields, albeit through talented subordinates. The emperor's conclusions could be trusted because of his research and his record.

By drawing attention to his own special talents alongside those of the ancient praetors, Justinian creates a parallel between his office and the one he is restoring. This parallel is enhanced by the statement that opens the law: the Romans would never have gained their empire if not for the office that combined authority over laws and arms. The negative phrasing allows Justinian to make a specific claim. The praetors may not have been the only factor that contributed to Rome's rise, but they were an indispensable one. The claim also establishes a principle that is at the heart of Justinian's reform legislation and the imperial administration's talking points in 535: restoration. By associating himself and his office with the ancient praetors, Justinian creates a parallel between the original expansion of the Roman empire and his current campaigns to restore it to its ancient boundaries.

Justinian positions himself as a restorer not only of political boundaries, but also of the administration, stating that he is reintroducing the praetorship 'because we were reflecting upon [the origins of Roman success], leading antiquity back into the *politeia* with a greater flowering, and exalting the name of the Romans'.¹⁰ Justinian here makes the terms of his restoration clear. He is not content with reestablishing the ancient Roman state; he is going to restore antiquity with 'a greater flowering' (μετὰ μείζονος ἄνθους). This metaphor is significant not only because it elevates Justinian's works *above* those of the ancient Romans, but also because it links his law with the authority of the natural world. *Novel* 24 was published in mid-May. The coincidence of spring, highlighted by Justinian's flower metaphor, with the start of the Italian campaigns and the theme of restoration all serve to emphasize the renewal, or re-blossoming, of the Roman world after a period of decline.

Novel 24 also marks Justinian's first use of the term *oikoumene* in the *Novels*.¹¹ The term, which refers to the entirety of the inhabited world, had a long history in discussions of the rise and dominance of the Roman empire, beginning with Polybius (about whom more below). The word draws attention to the extent of the Roman empire in the period before its collapse in the west and, under other circumstances, might have been a source of embarrassment to an emperor who controlled only half that territory. However, in 535 it reminds the reader of Justinian's accomplishments and ambitions rather than his shortcomings, indicating that his goal is to retake all of the territory formerly held by the Romans.

¹⁰ Just. Nov. 24.1 (189.26–8): Ταῦτα ἐννοοῦντες ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὴν παλαιότητα πάλιν μετὰ μείζονος ἄνθους εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπαναγαγόντες καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων σεμνύναντες ὄνομα.

¹¹ The term also appears in *Novel* 40, 109 and 132, published in 534/5, 541 and 545 respectively. The date of *Novel* 40 differs in the Greek (18 May 536) and Latin (18 May 535) text. In either case, *Novel* 24 contains one of the first uses of the term in the *Novels*.

It is in terms of the Roman rise to dominance over the *oikoumene* that Justinian defines the role of the praetors, arguing that they made two significant contributions to that expansion:

A great deal of law derives from the edicts of praetors, and there were many praetors; some conquered and administered Sicily, some the island of Sardinia, others Spain and still others conquered and administered other lands and seas.¹²

The statement about the praetors' contributions to the development of Roman law is true, but far more interesting are the areas of praetorian administration that Justinian chooses as examples: Sicily, Sardinia and Spain. These three territories are also linked to the beginnings of the Roman empire and the origins of the praetorship in the *Digest*. Quoting from the jurist Pomponius on the topic of the origin of laws and all the magistracies, the *Digest* states that 'when Sardinia had been taken, and soon Sicily, and then Spain, and finally the province of Narbonensis, praetors were created for each place, as many provinces as came under [Roman] authority.'¹³ The use of Sicily, Sardinia and Spain in the *Novel*, combined with the exclusion of Narbonensis, points to the origins of the Roman empire in the first two Punic Wars (fought against Carthage, which occupied the same territory that Justinian had just reconquered), the first of which gave Rome Sicily and Sardinia, the second of which gave her Spain.

By referencing the very first provinces brought under Roman control, Justinian not only continues his display of learnedness, upon which he has based his claim to authority in this *Novel*, but also narrows the terms of the parallel he is drawing between ancient and contemporary Roman expansions. Justinian uses Sicily, Sardinia and Spain to indicate that his own expansion is still in its earliest phases and that it will be accomplished through military force. Specifically, he had taken Sardinia and was in the process of taking Sicily, leaving only the conquest of Spain to be accomplished. Rome herself is excluded from the historical parallel, but is indicated through the reference to the 'greater blossom'.

The allusion to the Punic Wars, along with thematic and linguistic parallels, link Justinian's discussion of Roman history in *Novel* 24 to the history of Polybius and, through Polybius, to a related discussion of Rome's trajectory in Zosimus' classicizing *New History*. At a basic level, Justinian's depiction of Roman expansion, focusing on the smallness of the city of Rome and its rise to dominance over the entire Mediterranean, closely mirrors Polybius' description of his subject in the opening lines of his history:

¹² Just. *Nov.* 24.Pr (189.21–5): καὶ πολὺς νόμος ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραιτῶρων ἐξεχέθη φωνῆς, πολλοὶ τε πραιτῶρες οἱ μὲν Σικελίαν οἱ δὲ Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον οἱ δὲ Ἰσπανίαν οἱ δὲ ἄλλην κατεκτήσαντο τε καὶ διωκίσαντο θάλαττάν τε καὶ γῆν.

¹³ Just. *Dig.* 1.2.32: *Capta deinde Sardinia, mox Sicilia, item Hispania, deinde Narbonensi provincia totidem praetores, quot provinciae in dicionem venerant, creati sunt, partim qui urbanis rebus, partim qui provincialibus praeessent.*

Which man now living is so stupid and lazy that he would not wish to understand how and with what type of government (*politeia*) it happened that in fewer than fifty-three years a single empire, that of the Romans, came to rule virtually the entire inhabited world (*oikoumene*).¹⁴

Polybius' history, like *Novel 24*, is concerned with the phenomenon of Roman expansion as a function of its *politeia*. Polybius, in his discussion of the Roman constitution, attributes the success of the Roman state to its unique balance of monarchical, aristocratic and democratic elements in government.¹⁵ Justinian's formulation ignores this template, for obvious reasons, and focuses instead on the magistracies of the state. In doing so, Justinian's laws are responding to objections such as those raised by Zosimus, who used Polybius' history as a framework for understanding the decline and fall of the Roman empire.

Zosimus' *New History* was written at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century and appears to be an unfinished work, presumably due to the author's death.¹⁶ Zosimus makes two explicit references to Polybius in his work. The first comes in the opening lines:

It appeared proper to Polybius the Megalopolitan, in deciding to hand down to posterity the deeds of his own time that were worthy of remembrance, to show by means of the deeds themselves how the Romans, despite waging war on their neighbors for six hundred years following the founding of their city, did not acquire a great empire, but having subjugated to themselves some portion of Italy and, despite being deprived of it following the arrival of Hannibal and the defeat at Cannae, when they saw their enemies pressing upon their very walls, they were raised to such a degree of fortune that in fewer than fifty-three years they won for themselves not only Italy but also all of Libya and they had already brought the western Iberians under their control.¹⁷

¹⁴ Polyb. 1.1.5: τίς γὰρ οὕτως ὑπάρχει φαῦλος ἢ ῥάθυμος ἀνθρώπων ὃς οὐκ ἂν βούλοιο γνῶναι πῶς καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας ἐπικρατηθέντα σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην οὐχ ὅλοις πεντήκοντα καὶ τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἔπесе τὴν Ῥωμαίων.

¹⁵ Polyb. 6.18.

¹⁶ W. Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians* (New York, 2007), 108.

¹⁷ Zos. 1.1.1: Πολυβίῳ τῷ Μεγαλοπολίτῃ, μνήμη παραδοῦναι τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀξιόλογα τῶν ἔργων προελομένῳ, καλῶς ἔχειν ἐφάνη δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιδειξαι τῶν πράξεων ὅπως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ τὸν τῆς πόλεως οἰκισμὸν ἑξακοσίοις ἔτεσι τοῖς περιοίκοις προσπολεμήσαντες μεγάλην ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐκτήσαντο, μέρος δέ τι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τούτου μετὰ τὴν Ἀννίβα διάβασιν καὶ τὴν ἐν Κάνναις ἦτταν ἐκπεπωκότες, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τεύχεσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρώντες ἐπικειμένους, εἰς τοσοῦτον μέγεθος ἤρθησαν τύχης ὥστε ἐν οὐδὲ ὅλοις τρισὶ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεσιν μὴ μόνον Ἰταλίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ Λιβύην κατακτήσασθαι πᾶσαν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐσπερίους Ἰβήρας ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς καταστήσαι.

For Zosimus, Polybius is the historian of Rome's rise and he himself is now the self-appointed historian of its fall. Zosimus ties himself to Polybius by making Roman success contingent on its form of government: 'so long as affairs were watched over by the aristocracy, [the Romans] continued to add to their empire every year because the consuls competed eagerly to surpass one another in virtues.'¹⁸ Zosimus alters Polybius' formulation by making the consuls a part of the aristocracy and linking imperial expansion not with competent administrators, but with the struggle for glory among the senatorial elite.

Administration does play a role in Zosimus' discussion of the problems caused by monarchical rule: it becomes a conduit for the projection of the emperor's own failings. Discussing the reign of Augustus, Zosimus highlights a major problem with monarchical regimes:

[The ancient Romans] failed to notice that by entrusting the whole government to the judgment of that man they had gambled with the hopes of all men, entrusting the danger of this sort of empire to the initiative and ability of a single man.¹⁹

The efficiency of monarchical rule depends on the talents of a single man. In the Roman world, especially in the later empire, the talents of the emperor were supplemented by a large bureaucracy, in which Zosimus himself had served.²⁰ The fundamental problem with the bureaucracy under a monarch is, according to Zosimus, the preference shown to flatterers (κόλακες), who are rewarded at the expense of the moderate (οἱ ἐπιεικεῖς).²¹ The results of such administrative corruption are telling: the cities are filled with sedition and disturbances, civil and military affairs are handed over to greedy officials, and the efficacy of the armies is ruined.²² Zosimus is thought to have died about a quarter century before Justinian took the throne, but his critiques of the imperial administration can be found in a number of Justinianic works spread across many genres, including the emperor's *Novels*.

¹⁸ Zos. 1.5.2: ἕως μὲν ὅτε τὰ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ἐφυλάττετο, προστιθέντες ἔτους ἐκάστου τῇ ἀρχῇ διετέλουν, τῶν ὑπάτων ὑπερβαλέσθαι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικούντων.

¹⁹ Zos. 1.5.2: καὶ τῇ τούτου γνώμῃ τὴν πᾶσαν διοίκησιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἔλαθον ἑαυτοὺς κύβον ἀναρρίψαντες ἐπὶ ταῖς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλπίσιν καὶ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ὁρμῇ τε καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς καταπιστεύσαντες κίνδυνον.

²⁰ W. Treadgold, *The Early Byzantine Historians* (New York, 2007), 108.

²¹ Damascius uses this term as code for a 'pagan gentleman', P. Athanassiadi, *Damascius: The Philosophical History* (Athens, 1999), 146 n. 120.

²² Zos. 1.5.4: Οἳ τε γὰρ κόλακες παρὰ τούτου δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῶν ἀξιούμενοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχῶν ἐπιβαίνουσιν, οἳ τε ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ ἀπράγμονες μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις αἰρούμενοι βίον εἰκότως σχετλιάζουσιν οὐ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολαύοντες, ὥστε ἐκ τούτου τὰς μὲν πόλεις στάσεων πληροῦσθαι καὶ ταραχῶν, τὰ δὲ πολιτικά καὶ στρατιωτικά κέρδους ἤττοσιν ἄρχουσιν ἐκδιδόμενα καὶ τὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ βίον λυπηρὸν καὶ ὀδυνηρὸν τοῖς χαριεστέροις ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις προθυμίαν ἐκλύειν.

Justinian admits, in a *Novel* published on 15 April 535, that his officials have become corrupt because they need to recoup their investments after purchasing offices.²³ In *Novel* 24, Justinian forbids the Justinianic praetor of Pisidia from purchasing his office, increases his official salary and orders him to keep his hands clean.²⁴ The emperor's rapacious officials were a popular topic among contemporary writers from multiple genres; in particular, John the Cappadocian's depredations are reported by Lydus and Procopius, authors of an administrative and classicizing history respectively.²⁵ Likewise, the decline of the military under Justinian is a major topic in the anonymous *Dialogue on Political Science*, a philosophical dialogue on the model of Plato or Cicero, while the dismissal of the *limitanei* is a sore point for Procopius in his *Secret History* (a generically ambiguous work incorporating elements of invective and administrative history),²⁶ as is the rise of seditions in the cities in the form of conflict between the Blues and Greens.²⁷ Procopius even goes so far as to link administrative corruption with imperial failure, citing the disaffection in Italy that resulted from the depredations of the *logothetai*.²⁸ Zosimus' objections to imperial rule were common enough that we can find contemporary conversations on the topic from the beginning of the sixth century until at least the 550s taking place in a wide variety of prose genres.²⁹

It is not immediately clear from the opening of Zosimus' work that he is the historian of Rome's decline. That announcement comes slightly later in the first book, and is distinguished by a second mention of Polybius: 'just as Polybius has recorded how the Romans won for themselves an empire in a short time, I will recount how they, in not much time, ruined it with their wickedness.'³⁰ Zosimus places this statement in his account of the fall of the Palmyrene empire. The moment is apt because the trajectory of the Palmyrenes imitates, albeit in a shorter period, that of the Romans. Prior to their defeat, the Palmyrenes receive dismal and abusive oracles from Apollo, while a temple to Aphrodite actively rejects their

²³ Just. Nov. 8.Pr (64.10ff). See also A. Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity* (Philadelphia, 2004), 150–59.

²⁴ Just. Nov. 24.1 (190.14–15).

²⁵ Joh. Lyd. *De mag.* 3.57–8, 62, 65; Proc. *Anecd.* 23.14; Proc. *Wars* 1.24.12–15 and 1.25.8–10.

²⁶ For the genre of the *Secret History*, see A. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985), 57–61; A. Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea*, 142–50; *idem*, 'The Date and Structure of Prokopios' *Secret History* and his Projected Work on Church History', *GRBS* 49 (2009), 585–616.

²⁷ Proc. *Anecd.* 24.12–14 and 7.

²⁸ Proc. *Anecd.* 18.13–15, 24.9–11; Proc. *Wars* 7.1.28–33.

²⁹ The generic fluidity evidenced by this discussion is part of a broader phenomenon in this period. Cf. E. Turquois, 'Technical Writing, Genre and Aesthetic in Procopius', Chapter 15 in this volume, especially text to n. 1–7.

³⁰ Zos. 1.57.1: Πολυβίου γὰρ ὅπως ἐκτήσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ διεξεληθόντος, ὅπως ἐν οὐ πολλῶ χρόνῳ σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν αὐτὴν διέφθειραν ἔρχομαι λέξων.

sacrifices, both past and present.³¹ The breakdown in the relationship between the Palmyrenes and the gods was evidence of imminent imperial decline. Zosimus argues that a similar breakdown in religion was the cause of the Roman collapse, but notes a significant difference between the two cases: the Palmyrenes were abandoned by the gods, but the Romans chose to abandon the gods, adopting instead a new and foreign religion.³²

Zosimus was not the only author to complain of Roman decline and frame it in terms of the Republic. Jordanes' *Romana*, published around 551 in Constantinople, also discusses the overall trajectory of the empire.³³ Like the *Secret History*, the genre of Jordanes' history is unclear; it resembles an epitome in length, a chronicle in style, and a classicizing history in its use of allusion and intertext.³⁴ Jordanes calls the *Romana* an *abbreviatio chroniconum* at the beginning of his *Getica*, which is itself framed as a digression from the *Romana*, linking the texts in a unique and ambiguous way. Whatever its genre, the *Romana* is explicit in its goals; the work is addressed to Vigilius, who asked Jordanes for a summary of Roman history. Jordanes agrees to undertake the project and defines his topic in this way:

You wish to understand the disasters of the current world, either how it began or what has persisted even up to our own time, and I have explained this. You add, moreover, that I, having selected the small blossoms from the works of our ancestors, should present to you briefly how the Roman *respublica* seized, held, and subjugated virtually the entire world, and how it even now continues to do so in appearance.³⁵

Jordanes' approach to Roman history is a neat inversion of Justinian's. Instead of seeing a Roman world on the rebound, poised to reassume its ancient shape, Jordanes sees a Roman empire in decline and focuses his project on explaining that decline. Jordanes responds to Justinian's discussion of Roman revival by invoking the same fundamental question: how did the Romans achieve dominance

³¹ Zos. 1.57.2–58.3.

³² Zos. 1.58.4.

³³ Goffart linked Zosimus, the *Novels*, and Jordanes, arguing that Jordanes was attempting to adapt Zosimus' narrative for a Christian context: W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988), 54–7.

³⁴ The majority of recent literary scholarship on Jordanes has focused on the *Getica* rather than the *Romana*. See especially B. Swain, 'Jordanes and Virgil: A Case Study of Intertextuality in the *Getica*', *CQ* 60 (2010), 243–9 at 243–5; C. Whately, 'Jordanes, the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains, and Constantinople', *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* supplément 8 (2013), 65–78.

³⁵ Jord. *Rom.* 1–2: *vis enim praesentis mundi erumnas cognoscere aut quando coepit vel quid ad nos usque perpessus est, edoceri. addes praeterea, ut tibi, quomodo Romana res publica coepit et tenuit totumque pene mundum subegit et hactenus vel imaginariae teneat, ex dictis maiorum floscula carpens breviter referam.*

over almost the entire world? His history also takes aim at Justinian's claim to have restored, or to have begun the restoration of, the former empire by calling that restoration appearance rather than reality.

After his address to Vigilius, Jordanes begins his history of Rome with the same formulation Justinian uses in his description of the praetors: 'the Romans, as Iamblichus says, made the world their own through the use of arms and laws: whatever they arranged with arms, they preserved with laws.'³⁶ Although he does not extend this analysis through the rest of his work, the comment clearly echoes the rhetoric of Justinian's *Novels*. Likewise, when recounting the beginnings of Justinian's Italian campaigns, Jordanes refers to Belisarius as the 'tamer of the Carthaginians (*Poenorum domitor*).'³⁷ The word he uses refers not to the contemporary inhabitants of Carthage, but to the Phoenician enemies of Rome in the Punic Wars. This usage stands out because Jordanes has discussed the reconquest of Africa just a few lines previously and there correctly identified the enemy as the Vandals. In fact, Jordanes mentions the Vandals in the same sentence he uses *Poenorum domitor*, reporting that Belisarius displayed the treasures of the Vandals in his triumph. The title *Poenorum domitor* is poetic³⁸ and striking, and it indicates the same moment in Roman history, the Punic Wars, which Justinian invoked in his reforms. The connection is confirmed by Jordanes' use of the term *Poenus* in his account of the Punic Wars.³⁹

The title *Poenorum domitor* ties the character of Belisarius to Justinian's reform program while the general's other titles tie him to the Republic. During his account of Belisarius' defeat of the Goths, Jordanes repeatedly refers to him as consul, even though the term of his consulship expired in December 535.⁴⁰ Only two other figures are named consuls in Jordanes' narrative after the death of Crassus: Theodoric and Vitalian, both Goths.⁴¹ For both, the consulship is mentioned incidentally, while for Belisarius it becomes a standard title, marking him out as a Republican figure. Moreover, Jordanes grants Belisarius traditional Republican titles for his victories, *Vandalicus* and *Geticus*, setting Belisarius up as a Republican foil for Justinian, who in fact took both of those names in his official titulature.⁴² Jordanes transfers the glory and the titles to Belisarius, while transferring Belisarius back to the Republic.

³⁶ Jord. *Rom.* 6.

³⁷ Jord. *Rom.* 368.

³⁸ Vergil uses *equum domitor* to translate the Homeric epithet ἵππόδαμος. See Verg. *Aen.* 7.189, 7.651, 7.691, 9.523, 12.128 and 12.550, cf. Hom. *Il.* 24.804. For Jordanes' use of Vergilian allusions, see Swain, 'Jordanes and Virgil', 246–9, and Whately, 'Jordanes', 70–71.

³⁹ Jord. *Rom.* 165 and 166 *inter alia*.

⁴⁰ Jord. *Rom.* 373, 377 and 378.

⁴¹ Jord. *Rom.* 348–9 and 361.

⁴² Jord. *Rom.* 377.

The Vergilian echoes in the title *Poenorum domitor* also call attention to the similarities between Belisarius' campaigns and the travels of Aeneas. Both men begin in Asia, by Troy, sail to Africa, spend time at Carthage, and move from Africa to Italy. Moreover, the goal of both men is to establish the Roman state in Italy.⁴³ In Belisarius' case, he is re-founding Rome and the necessity of this re-founding is emphasized by Jordanes in his description of the Rome Belisarius finds upon his arrival:

The consul Belisarius entered the Roman city [*Romanam urbem*] and was received by that populace which had once been Roman and by the senate (although that name had already been all but buried along with its virtue).⁴⁴

Although not unheard-of in classical Latin, the formulation *Romana urbs* is rare and a striking substitution for the expected *Roma*, which Jordanes uses elsewhere in his narrative.⁴⁵ The usage is not affectation, but part of Jordanes' attack on the Roman identity of the inhabitants and government of Rome in the sixth century. Jordanes breaks the citizens of Rome into two categories: the senate and people. The people he calls 'once Roman', but he reserves greater disdain for the senate which he says had, for all intents and purposes, been buried by this point, along with its virtue. His choice of words is deliberate; by referring to buried virtue Jordanes is referencing the tombs of famous Romans that dominated the urban landscape of ancient Rome. It is worth noting that Procopius points to these same monuments, in the letter to Totila recounted in his *Wars*, as signs of the greatness of Rome.⁴⁶ Jordanes is making the opposite point but to similar effect. The Romans have lost their *romanitas* and even the senate, which was responsible for the expansion of the Roman state, has lost the virtue that previously defined it. The 'greater bloom' Justinian had hoped to add to his empire is, in Jordanes' telling, a degenerate imitation of Rome, undead, sharing only the name of its predecessor, and barely that.

Jordanes concludes his history by taking aim directly at Justinian and the idea of Roman revival that Justinian proposed in his laws. After reviewing the difficult peace in newly conquered Africa, the ongoing conflicts in Italy, and the campaigns against the Persians, Jordanes reports:

⁴³ The story of Aeneas and his Trojans is also behind Jordanes' depiction of the Gothic migrations in the *Getica*: Swain, 'Jordanes and Virgil', 247 and 249. Fully understanding the *Romana*'s intertextuality with the *Aeneid* requires an analysis of ancient attitudes towards the poem. These issues are not discussed in the current work, but a useful model may be found in C. Pazdernik, 'Belisarius' Second Occupation of Rome and Pericles' Last Speech,' Chapter 14 in this volume.

⁴⁴ Jord. *Rom.* 373: *consul Belisarius Romanam urbem ingressus est exceptusque ab illo populo quondam Romano et senatu iam pene ipso nomine cum virtute sepulto.*

⁴⁵ See especially his description of the founding of the city, Jord. *Rom.* 87 and 94.

⁴⁶ Proc. *Wars* 7.22.11–12.

These are the disasters of the Roman *respublica* besides the daily presence of the Bulgars, Antes, and Slavini. If anyone wishes to know about these things, let him review the annals and the consular list without revulsion and discover that the *respublica* of our time is worthy of a tragedy. And let him know from where it arose, how it grew ... or rather how it subdued all lands to itself and how it lost them again on account of its ignorant rulers.⁴⁷

Jordanes' recommendations for further reading are a series of responses to Justinian's policies that call into question the emperor's claims of a Republic-inspired restoration. Leaving aside the obvious (and daring) claim that the Romans lost their empire through the incompetence of their rulers, Jordanes uses his closing passage to imply the disintegration not only of the empire but also of Roman history. He begins his conclusion with the verb *revolvere*, which literally refers to rewinding a scroll and, in the context of his history, traveling back through time to when the state of the *respublica* was not material fit for tragedy. Even more pointed is Jordanes' mention of the consular lists. Writing in the 550s, Jordanes would have been aware that the consulship had been a dead institution since 541, in fact this likely accounts for his fixation on Belisarius' consulship, as he was the last man of proven merit to hold the post.⁴⁸ Jordanes' recommendation is a reminder that consular history has ended. This is important for two reasons. First, consular years were used to date all of Roman history after the expulsion of the kings, so the end of that office was, in some sense, the end of Roman history. Justinian himself was responsible for both the end of the consulship as a post and the supplanting of its role in Roman timekeeping with the regnal years of the emperor.⁴⁹ Second, by calling attention to the end of the consulship, Jordanes heightens the tension inherent in the term *respublica* because the consulship was, for many late antique authors including Justinian, the defining office of the Republic and its most important survival. The period of the Republic was the period in which Rome gained her empire. By focusing on the end of Republican timekeeping, and by extension of Republican history, Jordanes is divorcing Justinian's reign from the period the emperor invoked in *Novel* 24. Moreover, if magistrates played a key role in the rise of Rome, as Justinian claims, then the irony of his abolishing the highest magistracy of the Roman state cannot be overstated.

Finally, Jordanes makes the claim that the current state of the empire is fit material for tragedy. This statement is not, as it might be in English, simply a poetic way of referring to the sorry state of the empire, but a technical reference

⁴⁷ Jord. *Rom.* 388: *Hi sunt casus Romanae rei publicae preter instantia cottidiana Bulgarum, Antium, et Sclavinorum. que si quis scire cupit, annale consulumque seriem revolvat sine fastidio repperietque dignam nostri temporis rem publicam trageydiae. scietque unde orta, quomodo aucta, qualiterve sibi cunctas terras subdiderit et quomodo iterum eas ab ignaris rectoribus amiserit.*

⁴⁸ Proc. *Wars* 8.21.2–3.

⁴⁹ Just. *Nov.* 47.Pr (283.1ff).

to the genre of Athenian tragedy. Readers might recall Aristotle's criteria for tragedies. Aristotle describes the ideal tragic protagonist as:

The sort of man who is neither exceptional in his virtue and justice nor falls into misfortune on account of his evil or hatefulness, but on account of a mistake (*hamartia*), and is one of those who has a great reputation and good fortune.⁵⁰

The Roman empire, at its height, certainly met the qualifications for reputation and fortune, which raises the question: What, in Jordanes' formulation, is the *hamartia* of the Roman empire? Jordanes explicitly points to the incompetence of the rulers of Rome. The phrase used here, *ignarus rector*, is meaningful. Jordanes avoids the terms we would expect if he were referring solely to the imperial office (*imperator*, *augustus*, etc.) and instead uses a term that could refer to a whole range of leaders, including magistrates and emperors. Moreover, the adjective *ignarus* links the *hamartia* of Rome to its *anagnorisis* both linguistically and semantically. According to Aristotle, the *anagnorisis* is the moment at which the hero of a tragedy appreciates the reality of his or her situation, generally in regard to some personal relationship.⁵¹ Jordanes' history is the *anagnorisis* for the tragedy of the Roman empire and the realization that it has been led astray by its rulers. Aristotle argues that the effect of the *anagnorisis* is the creation of either friendship or hostility based on the truth perceived.⁵² Rome's rulers, in Jordanes' telling, are revealed to be the enemies of Rome's success.⁵³

The *Romana* is a generic melting-pot not only because it itself is a melding of several types of historical writing, but also for its use of epic poetry and Aristotelian philosophy. In this respect it mirrors the wider discussion of Republican history, and particularly Republican offices, in which it is participating. The coherence of the debate presented by Tribonian, Zosimus and Jordanes, as well as the broad interest in similar questions apparent in a variety of works from the sixth century, demonstrate contemporary interest in the causes of Rome's successes and failures. This coherence also has implications for the audience of these works because the authors must have expected that some readers would be able to link their works back to the broader debate. In the case of Jordanes, such readers would have been expected to associate his discussion with *Novel* 24 and perhaps even with one or more of the works of Polybius, Zosimus, Procopius, Lydus and the *Dialogue on*

⁵⁰ Arist. *Poet.* 13 (1453a): ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ μῆτε ἀρετῇ διαφέρων καὶ δικαιοσύνη μῆτε διὰ κακίαν καὶ μοχθηρίαν μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν δυστυχίαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν τινά, τῶν ἐν μεγάλῃ δόξῃ ὄντων καὶ εὐτυχία.

⁵¹ Arist. *Poet.* 11 (1452a).

⁵² Arist. *Poet.* 11 (1452a).

⁵³ This is in contrast to Goffart's argument that, though downbeat, the *Romana* is not critical of Justinian: Goffart, *Narrators*, 57–8.

Political Science.⁵⁴ The extent and interconnectedness of the discussions taking place in the sixth century are evidence for a willingness to shift the boundaries of well-established genres in order to participate in a vital debate over the trajectory of the contemporary empire and its relationship to its Republican past.

⁵⁴ Some of these authors may have had direct contact: A. Kaldellis, 'Identifying Dissident Circles in Sixth-Century Byzantium: The Friendship of Prokopios and Ioannes Lydos', *Florilegium* 21 (2004), 1–17.

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PART V

Technical Genres

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Chapter 17

The Genre and Purpose of Military Manuals in Late Antiquity¹

Conor Whately

Introduction

One of the most popular authors of Roman antiquity in the medieval West comes, perhaps, as something of a surprise. Vegetius' *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, which attracts little attention today except amongst those with an interest in Roman military history, survives in over 200 manuscripts in Latin, and at least another 100 in vernacular languages.² At first glance this interest amongst military historians makes sense, for Vegetius claimed that the emphasis of his 'opuscule' was to bring together knowledge of military matters, which was scattered and hidden in the works of historians and teachers of military science (*armorum disciplinam docentes*) alike (Veg. *Mil.* preface 4). On the other hand, a few pages later Vegetius made one of his most interesting statements in a section on the marking of recruits (1.8) and which introduced training. There, Vegetius engaged in self-promotion: having claimed that the information sought by his audience would not be found in ancient histories or other works, he argued that it would be found in his own handbook on military matters. Vegetius' active engagement with the audience and his slandering of histories suggests that authors working in a genre on the periphery of late antique literary culture grappled with many of the same concerns as other contemporary genres while simultaneously competing with them. Thus, what kind of text did they write, what was the purpose of their work, and who was it for (genre, function and audience)?³

¹ I want to thank Hugh Elton, John Matthews and the other participants of the panel; Matt Gibbs, Geoffrey Greatrex, Pauline Ripat; and Aven McMaster, Guy Chamberland and Liz Gloyon for their comments, discussion and feedback.

² N.P. Milner, *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (Liverpool, 1993), xiii. Cf. P. Richardot, *Végèce et la culture militaire au Moyen Âge. (Ve–XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1998); C. Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius. The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011).

³ See Montinaro, Chapter 13 in this volume, for a discussion of genre and audience in Procopius' *Buildings*. On the sixth-century fusing of genres and Procopius see Turquois, Chapter 15 in this volume.

There have been some attempts at situating military manuals from antiquity within broader discussions of ancient literature and thought, though perhaps not as many as might be expected.⁴ For example, in his edition, translation and commentary of Apollodorus Mechanicus' *Siege Matters*, Whitehead stresses that 'the enlarged treatise ... has important things to offer as an intellectual and cultural artefact'.⁵ Although Whitehead was concerned specifically with the second-century Apollodorus, his comments could apply to all ancient military manuals. In Late Antiquity a number of new military treatises were produced, including the works of Vegetius and Urbicius and those attributed to Syrianus and Maurice.⁶ Why were these manuals written? These questions will be addressed through an exploration of the readership and function of military manuals. The focus is less on how we might use the manuals to reconstruct late antique warfare than it is on illuminating their intellectual and cultural context. Although much of this chapter will consist of asking questions, some answers will be suggested, with a principal aim being to address whether any of the late antique military manuals really were of use to the empire's commanders. The paper is divided into three sections. The first provides a discussion of the issue of genre; the second of their audience; and the third their function.

I. The Madness of Genre⁷

Should we consider all late antique military handbooks as one distinct genre? Republican and imperial Latin works on agriculture pose this very problem. Cato's *De agricultura*, Mago's agriculture treatise, Vergil's *Georgics*, Varro's *De*

⁴ See, for example, L. Loreto, 'Il generale e la biblioteca. La trattatistica militare greca da Democrito d'Abdera ad Alessio I Comneno', in G. Cambiano, L. Canfora and D. Lanza, eds, *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica* (Rome, 1995), 563–89; M. Lenoir, 'La littérature *De re militari*', in C. Nicolet, ed., *Les littératures techniques dans l'Antiquité romaine: statut, public et destination, tradition* (Geneva, 1996), 77–108; G. Traina, 'Polemologia', in C. Santini, I. Mastroianni and A. Zumbo, eds, *Letteratura scientifica e tecnica di Grecia e Roma* (Rome, 2002), 425–44; and J. Vela Tejada, 'Warfare, History and Literature in the Archaic and Classical Periods: The Development of Greek Military Treatises', *Historia* 53 (2004), 129–46.

⁵ D. Whitehead, *Apollodorus Mechanicus* (Stuttgart, 2010), 34.

⁶ Many doubt whether Syrianus should be included in this discussion; most recent studies situate him in the middle Byzantine period. See, for example, P. Rance, 'The Date of the Military Compendium of Syrianus Magister (Formerly the Sixth-Century Anonymous Byzantinus)', *BZ* 100 (2007), 701–37. I am not, however, wholly convinced by these arguments, and space precludes a detailed treatment.

⁷ The subtitle is borrowed from M. Mullett, 'The Madness of Genre', *DOP* 46 (1992), 233–43. Cf. P. Odorico, 'L'auteur byzantin. Taxonomie et systématique: un essai de définition', in P. Odorico and P.A. Agapitos, eds, *Pour une nouvelle histoire de la littérature byzantine: Problèmes, methods, approaches, propositions* (Paris, 2002), 61–80.

re rustica, Columella's *De re rustica*, and a significant portion of Pliny's *Natural History* all deal with agriculture. Though eliminating Vergil from this list is easy enough, the other five works would seem more likely candidates to be considered one genre: they are all prose and they all deal with agriculture in some capacity. Yet, with respect to content, Pliny's long treatise does not deal with agriculture alone, and so perhaps it too should be excluded. We are then left with just a few texts, and while they are all prose works, their forms vary considerably: Varro's, for one, is constructed as a philosophical dialogue. Thus, the task of determining what constitutes a genre is not an easy one.

These genre problems also hold true for military manuals. For example, in a discussion of tenth-century Byzantine military matters, McGeer identified a vast corpus of texts that dealt with what he calls military science, from those on tactics (*tactica*), strategy and generalship (*strategica*), and siege warfare (*poliorcetica*), to naval warfare (*naumachica*), military rhetoric (*paraggelmata*),⁸ and stratagems (*strategemata*).⁹ Significantly, he does not group them into one genre. Whitehead made a similar point when he said that he preferred to think of those ancient works on military matters as 'a cluster of related genres, united by their focus on warfare but covering, beyond that, a diverse range of material and approaches'.¹⁰

Finding a satisfactory answer is compounded by the lack of ancient definitions. The second century theorist Aelian said, 'the definition of tactics laid down by Aeneas is that it is the science of military movements (ἐπιστήμην ... πολεμικῶν κινήσεων), but that of Polybius is that it is whenever anyone takes an unorganized crowd, organizes it, divides it into files and, grouping them together, gives them a practical training for war'.¹¹ Aelian is concerned with τακτική θεωρία (the theory of tactics) – a specific branch of knowledge (μαθήματα) – rather than a literary genre, per se.¹² Writing much later, Vegetius, in his *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, while discussing training (1.8–28) asked how we could learn more about the history of branding new recruits, and replied that the answers were to be sought in histories and other books (1.8.7). The former he dismissed, claiming that they were of little value (1.8.8). With respect to the latter he mentioned those books 'which the Greeks call *tactica*' (1.8.9), and summarily dismissed them too. He then turned to the 'military science of the Roman people' (*disciplinam militarem populi Romani*, 1.8.9), and referred to authors like Cato, Celsus and Frontinus. On the other hand, Vegetius did not explain what military science was, and in fact suggested that Celsus and Frontinus might have discussed something rather different (1.8.11).

⁸ Though note that the only work entitled the *Paraggelmata*, that of 'Heron of Byzantium', is focused on siege warfare rather than rhetoric.

⁹ E. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century* (Washington DC, 1995), 171.

¹⁰ D. Whitehead, 'Fact and Fantasy in Greek Military Writers', *Acta Ant. Hung.* 48 (2008), 141.

¹¹ Ael. *Tac.* 3.4. trans. Devine.

¹² Ael. *Tac.* Headings 2–3.

There is, however, another way to address the question of genre. We owe the survival of the ancient manuals to compilations made by scribes working in the great Byzantine age of military theory (the tenth century), who themselves decided to group a host of those ancient works together.¹³ For example, *Laurentianus* 55-4 (mid-tenth century) preserves the works of Asclepiodotus, Aelian, Aeneas, Arrian (two works) and Onasander; *Parisinus Graecus* 2442 (eleventh century) and *Vaticanus Graecus* 1164 (eleventh century) preserve Aelian, Onasander, Athenaeus, Biton, Heron (two works), Apollodorus and Philon (three). Just because unknown scribes saw fit to put a number of texts about war together does not mean that we should then classify those texts as works of the same genre.¹⁴ After all, although those works talk about war, they do not all cover the same aspects. The editors of the Loeb Classical Library, for instance, on the back of their edition of Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus and Onasander, list, under the heading ‘Other writers on military matters in the Loeb Classical Library’, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Arrian, Polybius, Livy, Caesar, Tacitus, Ammianus and Frontinus (in that order).

Do we have one genre, then, or many? I would argue that we have one genre, and the evidence from other genres is suggestive. There survives from Late Antiquity a dizzying array of different histories, and though they are often grouped into quite distinct categories such as secular and Christian histories, a number of scholars now suggest that such differentiation is unwarranted.¹⁵ Thus, if histories are that varied in both content and form and yet can still be considered one genre, there is no reason not to do the same with military manuals.

II. Audience

The next question is: who read these military manuals? The answer has important implications for the final subject, the purpose of the manuals. The audience had a significant impact on the final product. If we assumed that the audience would be composed of readers with a similar background to the authors of the manuals themselves, then it would be helpful if we knew something about those authors. Regrettably, as with many other genres from antiquity, we are short of biographical information. In many cases, we do not even know the identity of a particular author, as is the case with the *De Rebus Bellicis* and the *Strategicon*. So while we would like to know whether the writer of a military manual was a general, a

¹³ Whitehead, 2008, 140.

¹⁴ Of necessity, this statement belies the complexity of the matter, for some of the corpora that the manuscripts incorporate might date earlier, perhaps to the ninth to tenth centuries, or even Late Antiquity.

¹⁵ A. Kaldellis, ‘The Corpus of Byzantine Historiography’, in P. Stephenson, ed., *The Byzantine World* (London, 2010), 211.

high-ranking officer or an armchair general, or whether he considered himself Roman, German or something else, we do not know, and our evidence is insufficient.

With regard to whether the authors thought their works might reach an audience at all, we know that there were a number of writers on war in the late Roman world in general, from military officers like Ammianus and poets like George of Pisidia to historians like Procopius. The breadth, variety and number of the works that they produced suggest that the subject continued to be of considerable interest. For the writers of military manuals we can be sure that a ready audience did exist. Whether that audience was composed of members of the military or civilian elite (or some combination of the two) is the next issue.

Ila. Military Elite

Beginning with the military elite, first, there were the emperors. Regardless of their actual experience in command they constituted the highest rank of the empire's commanders. Many of the surviving manuals were dedicated to emperors, from the anonymous *De Rebus Bellicis* to Vegetius' *Epitoma Rei Militaris*. Nonetheless, a dedication does not mean that an emperor read or used a particular text. Some texts, such as Maurice's *Strategicon*, are concerned with the realities of combat, and consequently less useful to an emperor who did not campaign in person. A text like Vegetius', however, concerned as it is with reforming the state's military, would presumably be useful to an emperor. The same could be said for the texts filled with inventions, like those of the fourth-century anonymous *De Rebus Bellicis* or Urbicius. Indeed, the former even delves into military expenditure, a topic of considerable interest to an emperor. Ultimately we ought to consider emperors a significant part of the intended audience. If nothing else, the invocation of an emperor might lend authority to the text.

Second, below the emperor we have the empire's generals. Maurice's *Strategicon*, for instance, is explicitly aimed at the would-be general.¹⁶ Even if we suppose that Maurice's comments are simply standard military manual preface rhetoric, the fact is that the generals' experience, position and wealth marks them out as a probable and significant part of the intended audience. Not all officers could read (we might imagine), but for those that could, and those who had a reasonable grasp of Greek or Latin, a text like the *Strategicon* could be of value. On the other hand, if the generals could not read either language, or could not read the language of the text in question, would this mean that they could not be considered part of a manual's audience? Latin remained the *Heeressprache* until the first half of the seventh century;¹⁷ and a significant number of the empire's generals hailed from Latin-speaking regions, even after the empire had split in

¹⁶ See Maurice *Strat.* pr. 21–7.

¹⁷ P. Rance, 'The *De Militari Scientia* or Müller Fragment as a philological resource. Latin in the East Roman Army and Two New Loanwords in Greek: *palmarium* and **recala*', *Glotta* 86 (2010) 64.

two. There was a sizeable population of Illyrians, many of whom were generals, residing in the capital at this time.¹⁸ Could those Latin-speaking individuals have read works in Greek like these? If they could not, it is possible that much of the 'reading' could in fact have been done aloud by someone else, perhaps a member of a general's administrative staff such as an *assessor* like Procopius.

The general, however, would also need the desire and ability to purchase these sorts of text; they were expensive (a month's to several months' pay for some),¹⁹ and were often difficult to acquire.²⁰ Would a general have gone to the trouble of purchasing a text for his own use? Would he have even wanted to? For a number of reasons, then, we might wonder just how significant the portion of the manuals' audience made up of generals actually was.

Iib. Civilian Elite

If we assume that cost and interest were both factors instrumental in determining a text's audience, then another group that merits consideration is the civilian elite: those who were well educated, but who had no military experience of their own. Indeed, when scholars discuss late antique literary culture, whether in the Greek east or the Latin west, they are usually interested in the so-called 'highbrow' literature, namely classical and classicising texts – epic poetry, historiography and so forth.²¹ Yet we know that the growth of Christianity meant that Christian texts, or texts with Christian themes and characteristics, in addition to 'highbrow' texts, came to be considered suitable reading for the civilian elite – in some cases they supplanted them. It is these individuals, quite often men, who read classical, classicising and Christian texts, who had the means (education and money) to read military manuals. Might they have been interested in reading military manuals – in reading lowbrow literature as well?

A possible indication of the popularity of military handbooks amongst the civilian elite comes in the form of the Vienna Dioscurides, a sixth-century illuminated manuscript of Dioscurides' *De materia medica*. Anicia Juliana, the daughter of the emperor Olybrius, rival of Justinian, and well-known Constantinopolitan literary patron,²² commissioned this manual of medicinal

¹⁸ Note especially B. Croke, *Count Marcellinus and His Chronicle* (Oxford, 2001), 78–101. Cf. P. Amory, *People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy* (Cambridge, 1997), 277–313.

¹⁹ N. Wilson, 'Books and Readers in Byzantium', in C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, eds., *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, 1975), 3.

²⁰ C. Rapp, 'Literary Culture under Justinian,' in M. Maas, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), 377–8.

²¹ Note, for example, the distinctions A. Cameron ('Education and Literary Culture', in A. Cameron and P. Garnsey, eds., *CAH* vol. 13, *The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425* [Cambridge, 1998], 665–707) makes.

²² Cf. B. Croke, 'Justinian's Constantinople', in M. Maas, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), 64–75.

herbs. How this lavishly illustrated and luxuriously illuminated manuscript of utilitarian subject matter was used is unknown, but its very existence suggests that there might even have been others; some of those might have been military manuals. Thus there was a market for utilitarian (so to speak) texts that were neither sacred nor classical and classicising, and some of these were produced at tremendous cost.

The audience for late antique military manuals was probably diverse. In all likelihood that audience included everyone – amongst the elite – from emperors to senators, with the civilian elite likely making up the largest portion of that readership. This suggestion (a primarily civilian audience) has implications for the last subject of this paper, the purpose of military manuals.

III. The Purpose of Military Manuals

What was the purpose of the late antique military manuals? Three possibilities will be addressed: first, that they served as utilitarian texts that commanders used in preparation for campaigns or combat; second, that they served as pedagogical tools that up-and-coming commanders could use to learn more about their craft; third, that they served as sources of entertainment and knowledge. Before turning to these possibilities, a few comments are in order about the distinction between descriptive and theoretical manuals.

IIIa. Descriptive versus Theoretical Manuals

Scholars like Krentz and Wheeler, McGeer, and Rance²³ have asked whether a particular manual is descriptive (it describes contemporary combat) or theoretical (it deals with ideals or reforms that have little basis in reality). Both Maurice and Vegetius are usually put into the descriptive category and the rest usually into the latter. With respect to the latter, theoretical, group, which includes the fourth-century anonymous, Urbicius and Syrianus, this categorisation hinges on the degree to which the works in question simply reproduce material from the earlier military manual canon or not. This descriptive/theoretical dichotomy has some bearing on the question of function, for those texts which describe the combat of their era would presumably have greater practical value than those antiquated and theoretical volumes. In turn, it would seem that the functions for the two groups would then be very different. But should we dismiss the utility of theoretical works outright?

As noted, late antique authors often made extensive use of earlier texts of little contemporary relevance – discussions of the Greek phalanx stand out, at least

²³ P. Krentz and E. Wheeler, trans., *Polyaenus: Stratagems of War* (Chicago, 1993), xvii; Rance, 2007, 343–4; E. McGeer, 'Military Texts', in R. Cormack, J. Haldon and E. Jeffreys, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008), 907–8. Cf. Greatrex et al., 37–8.

for our purposes. Syrianus, for example, made extensive use of Aelian,²⁴ whose own description of the phalanx was based partially on an earlier treatise from the late Hellenistic period.²⁵ But change and originality meant something different to ancient writers from what they do to moderns.²⁶ All would-be writers – at least those working in classical genres – had to be aware of, and willing to engage with, their predecessors, especially those predecessors from ‘hallowed antiquity’.²⁷ That this is true across a host of different genres is good evidence of this.²⁸ As common and important as this reuse was to the author, it was just as important to the reader: depending on who was listening to or reading the text in question, it was incumbent upon the author to set the work into a familiar language and framework, and to include the sort of material that the reader would have expected.²⁹ The writers of Byzantine handbooks had recourse to a number of works from the Classical through to the Late Antique eras, and incorporated those works into their own.³⁰

Thus, since the theoretical texts were actively engaging with older texts for the benefit of their audience, which means that they were likely more useful to their audience than we usually give them credit for, they ought to be considered alongside the descriptive ones when it comes to evaluating their function.

IIIb. Combat Utility

What was the purpose of military manuals? They might have been written to provide advice for generals on, or preparing for, the field of battle. For example, Vegetius said, ‘but who doubts that the art of war comes before all else’ (3.10.2), and then claimed that the Spartans, and later the Romans and barbarians, cultivated this learning – he used the terms *doctrina* (3.10.3) and *ars* (3.10.3). More importantly, the responsibility for the well-being of the state in question rested on the general;

²⁴ P. Rance, ‘The Date of the Military Compendium’ (n. 6), 703.

²⁵ Poseidonius of Apamea (c.135–51 BC).

²⁶ A. Littlewood, ed., *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music* (Oxford, 1995).

²⁷ In this regard note, for example, M. Fronda’s [‘Imitation (*mimesis, imitatio*)’, in R. Bagnall, K. Brodersen, C. Champion, A. Erskine and S. Huebner, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Malden, MA, 2012), 3416–17] overview of imitation (*mimesis, imitatio*), where imitation refers to ‘an author’s conscious use of features and characteristics of earlier works’. Cf. T. Woodman, ‘Self-imitation and the substance of history: Tacitus, *Annals* 1.61–5 and *Histories* 2.70, 5.14–15’, in D. West and T. Woodman, eds, *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature* (Cambridge, 1979), 143–55; J. Muckelbauer, ‘Imitation and invention in antiquity: an historical-theoretical revision’, *Rhetorica* 21 (2003), 61–8.

²⁸ G. Kelly, *Ammianus Marcellinus the Allusive Historian* (Cambridge, 2008), 161–295.

²⁹ Cf. Rance, 2007, 344; R. Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Farnham, 2009), 14–28.

³⁰ Note the comments of D. Sullivan, ‘Byzantine Military Manuals: Prescriptions, Practice and Pedagogy’, in P. Stephenson, ed., *The Byzantine World* (London, 2010), 149.

though Vegetius' handbook was targeted at the emperor, he made it clear on at least one occasion that he envisioned an emperor as soldier and general.³¹ Along the same lines, Maurice, in the prologue to his *Strategicon*, said that his 'rather modest elementary handbook or introduction [is] for those devoting themselves to generalship'.³² The implication is that Maurice's manual served a pedagogical purpose: a general should read the handbook. But do we have any concrete evidence for their use in the surviving accounts of ancient battles?

One of our best sources for the specifics of late antique battles is Ammianus Marcellinus. He was a contemporary of much of what he described and had experience of combat; his description of the siege and his subsequent flight from Amida in book 19 of his *Res Gestae* is one of the most vivid accounts of warfare from antiquity. Before becoming emperor Julian was a successful general, and Ammianus devoted much of books 16 and 17 to this part of his career.³³ In Ammianus' excursus on the virtues of Julian, one of his qualities is the time he spent on preparation for war or engaged in battle (*in apparatu vel in ipsis egerit congressibus proeliorum*, 16.5.9); moreover, he was, as a prince, forced to practise the arts of war himself (*cum exercere pro ludia disciplinae castrensis*, 16.5.10).³⁴ What this practice and preparation entailed, however, was not explained. With respect to particular campaigns, while engaged with the Alamanni Julian was in conversation with those experienced in the local terrain (*habita itaque deliberatione assistantibus locorum peritis*, 16.2.3), though again Ammianus did not provide any detailed information.³⁵

In the build-up to Strasbourg we read about a host of steps taken in expectation of victory, not all of which were successful. There had been plans to envelop the Alamanni through the Romans' numbers and their formation (16.11.3). This failed, and Julian's quick-thinking saved Lyons (16.11.4–6). Intelligence on enemy forces played an important role – the capture of some scouts proved fortunate (16.11.9). When the battle began, there was some sort of discussion between Julian and other high-ranking officers about how to proceed (16.13.14, 16.12.8). The praetorian prefect Florentius, for example, agreed that they ought to attack the Alamanni while massed together, and while Ammianus did report this in indirect speech, he noted that Florentius resorted to the use of some stereotypes about barbarians (16.12.14). Much of the rest of his support for Julian's decision had to do with the past performance of both Alamannic and Roman soldiers alike (16.12.14–16).

³¹ Veg. *Mil.* 3.26.38.

³² Maurice *Strat.* pr. 21–4, tr. Dennis.

³³ Julian himself was later credited with writing a military manual of his own. Cf. John Lydus *De Mag.* 1.47.

³⁴ Cf. S. Janniard, *Les transformations de l'armée Romano-Byzantine (IIIe – VIe siècles apr. J. C.): le paradigme de la bataille rangée* (diss. University of Paris, 2010), 180, 220, 358.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 36–7, 113 n. 338.

In Ammianus' *Res Gestae* there is no specific evidence for a Roman general's use of a military manual. Incidentally, the same is true for Procopius, the other great military historian of Late Antiquity. In fact, historians preferred to highlight, or at least insinuate, the use of histories as repositories of military knowledge by the commanders in their works. Eunapius said, with respect to Valens' preparations for an expedition against marauding Goths, that the event in question 'illustrated how a literary education has value in war and how those who aim at a goal directly, economically and without a fight are aided by the experience of events gained through reading history'.³⁶ Polybius' *History* in particular seems to have been an especially useful text. When Ammianus discussed Julian's eastern expeditions he stressed the value of histories, particularly Polybius, as repositories of knowledge for would-be and actual generals.³⁷ Theophylact, though he did not name Polybius, alluded to him when he referred to 'military knowledge from the experts of the past' in reference to some select travails of Scipio and Hannibal.³⁸ It is some time, however, before we get comparable references to military handbooks. The lack of references to the use of military manuals in histories is, perhaps, unsurprising, for the historians wanted to promote the usefulness of their own works rather than that of military manuals in the same way that Vegetius (1.8.8) dismissed histories. On the other hand, the reading of manuals by generals in preparation for combat might have been so mundane as not to warrant any mention by those same historians.

There is, however, one further issue that bears some consideration. The codex had all but replaced the scroll by the end of antiquity. It was much easier to use than the scroll, which had to be unrolled to the required section of the text: the codex could be opened to the required section. On the other hand, books remained an expensive, luxury item.³⁹ And although they were easier to use as reference tools, there was still the issue of transporting these potentially heavy and expensive items around. In other words, on the surface books remained impractical as ready-to-use tools for a commander trying to decide his next move, especially when time was limited, as it often was in the heat of battle.

IIIc. Pedagogy

Just because a text was not used on the field of battle need not mean that it did not have any other use for commanders. Might there have been a broader pedagogical function for handbooks? Could they have been required reading for those preparing for a career in the military?

There is a lot we do not know about the education of the late Roman soldiery, even if texts such as Vegetius' *Epitoma* do spend a great deal of time on training. The *scholae domesticorum* functioned as a pseudo-military college in at least the

³⁶ Eunapius, frg. 44, tr. Blockley in *FCH*, vol. 2.

³⁷ Amm. Marc. 24.2.16. cf. 24.1.3, on Pyrrhus, and Livy 35.14.9.

³⁸ Theophyl. Sim. 1.14.2.

³⁹ Rapp, 'Literary Culture under Justinian' (n. 20), 377.

first half of the fourth century.⁴⁰ It is possible that those so enrolled might have spent much of their time reading military handbooks. Yet Kulikowski suggests that the officer training provided by the *scholae domesticorum* involved an immersive rhetorical education in Greek or Latin. That sort of rhetorical education is not likely to have included military handbooks, though that is not to say that these men could not have read the manuals on their own free time.

By the sixth century, the *scholae domesticorum* no longer functioned as a military college;⁴¹ future officers would have been educated in some other way. Based on what we can glean from their careers for those officers who rose the highest, their education was much more along the lines of an apprenticeship than something more formal.⁴² Moreover, success in the highest ranks of the military at that time was much more contingent on personal connections than educational background, especially during the reign of Justinian. A number of the better-known sixth-century generals, such as Buzes, were of Thracian origin, much like Justinian himself. This includes the most famous of sixth-century generals, Belisarius, who apparently started his career as a bodyguard of Justinian.⁴³ After that he had a two-year spell as *dux Mesopotamiae* before becoming *magister militum per Orientem* in 529.⁴⁴ Although we know little about Belisarius' career before Procopius started writing about him, we do not have any evidence that he or those generals like him (Areobindus, Buzes, Martinus)⁴⁵ spent time on any sort of literary education.

The value these texts had for late antique commanders may be in their use by those men accompanying the army who were tasked with its paperwork, such as the assessors like Procopius. On a number of occasions, such as the aforementioned Battle of Strasbourg described by Ammianus Marcellinus, we find generals in discussion with members of their inner circle in the lead-up to a campaign or battle. Procopius noted a handful of instances where he was able to provide information to Belisarius in his capacity as advisor. During the Vandal War Procopius was to find out where the Roman fleet ought to land early in that campaign.⁴⁶ Some time later, during the Gothic campaign, Procopius stepped forward of his own volition and discussed with Belisarius the Roman army's past

⁴⁰ Jones, *LRE*, 638–9; M. Kulikowski, 'A Very Roman Ammianus', *Classics Ireland* 15 (2008), 71.

⁴¹ Jones, *LRE*, 639.

⁴² Although she is concerned with the high imperial Roman military, S. Cuomo's ['A Roman Engineer's Tale', *JRS* 101 (2011), 158–62] comments about Nonius Datus are worth considering. On the origins, careers and conditions of service of some of Justinian's generals see D. Parnell, 'The Careers of Justinian's Generals', *JMMH* 10 (2012), 1–17.

⁴³ *PLRE* III.181–224. Cf. *Proc. Wars* 1.12.21.

⁴⁴ *Proc. Wars* 1.13.9.

⁴⁵ For a brief discussion of military careers in the sixth century see C. Whately, 'Militarization or Rise of a Distinct Military Culture? The East Roman Ruling Elite in the Sixth Century', in D. Boatright and S. O'Brien, eds, *Warfare and Society in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2013), 49–57.

⁴⁶ *Proc. Wars* 3.14.3–4.

practices with regard to communicating with trumpets.⁴⁷ We may not know where Procopius got his information from, but it should be noted that at least two late antique military manuals, Vegetius and Maurice, referred to the use of trumpets.⁴⁸ With respect to Heraclius, Kaegi suggested that while it was the emperor himself who read, or at least browsed, the manuals, someone else decided what he chose to read.⁴⁹ This ‘someone else’ could have been someone like Procopius. It is possible then that the manuals were written for assessors or even praetorian prefects like the fourth-century Florentius mentioned previously.

IIId. Entertainment and Knowledge for Civilians

There is one last possible type of function to discuss, though the evidence for it is all but nonexistent. The manuals could have been written to provide entertainment and knowledge for a civilian, though also military, audience.⁵⁰ Although the parallel is, perhaps, anachronistic, and my ‘evidence’ anecdotal, it is worth noting that many bookshops have large sections devoted specifically to military history. These sections often dwarf the size of other history sections in bookshops, with the possible exception of the country in question’s national history – so, for instance the British history section in the UK, and the Canadian history section in Canada. Although there is no reason why the books in these sections could not be read by, and be of use to, military officers, they are not the target audience. As noted above, there was plenty of interest in military affairs in Late Antiquity amongst the populace, including those with access to, and the ability to read and comprehend, works with military subject matter. Military manuals might have been written to serve as light entertainment for civilian and military readers, and knowledge for the former.

Thus, just as military history books in modern bookshops serve as forms of entertainment and knowledge for a presumably civilian audience, these manuals might have provided the civilian readers of Late Antiquity with the material that they felt they needed to interact in social occasions with their military peers, or even other civilians. Given the separation between military office and civilian office that had taken hold by the end of the third century, these sorts of works might have provided those from civilian backgrounds with what they thought

⁴⁷ Proc. *Wars* 6.23.23.

⁴⁸ Veg. *Mil.* 2.23. Maurice *Strat.* 2.17, 3.5, 7.10, 7.16. Though this does not prove that Procopius therefore read Vegetius or a manual with this information (Procopius was dead before Maurice wrote his work), it is suggestive.

⁴⁹ W. Kaegi, *Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2003), 109.

⁵⁰ In his translation of the *Peri Strategias*, G. Dennis [*Three Byzantine Military Treatises* (Washington, 1985), 3] suggests that ‘his book appears to have been intended for the ordinary, educated citizen’.

they needed to have some knowledge of the military in their wider world.⁵¹ For, despite their lack of military experience, these civilian elites might still have been expected to display knowledge of military affairs.⁵² Similarly, in republican Rome elites expected their fellow elites, from successful orators to the powerful *patresfamilias*⁵³ alike, to have access to information and knowledge even if it was beyond their purview.⁵⁴ Along the same lines, perhaps just as modern scholars might reach for a handbook or companion for authoritative knowledge about an aspect of the ancient world for which they lack the necessary expertise, so too might these civilian elites have turned to the military manuals. In the end, however, without concrete evidence this possibility – manuals as entertainment and knowledge – must remain speculative.

Conclusion: Towards an Intellectual History of the Late Antique Military Manual

The focus of this chapter was two interconnected questions about late antique military manuals: who read them, and what were they for? By addressing these questions, what I have chosen to do is read the manuals, from the practical to the theoretical, as cultural artefacts, rather than as means of reconstructing warfare itself, even if the latter informed a significant part of my discussion. The manuals were much more than mere repositories of information, even though this is one of their most important functions for modern scholars. Whether they were written by battle-hardened commanders or armchair generals with a penchant for the phalanx of classical antiquity, a careful study of these manuals and their transformation in Late Antiquity provides us with valuable insight into the late antique mind, so enabling us to tackle some significant issues in late antique studies beyond traditional military history.

⁵¹ Cf. Turquois' comments in Chapter 15, this volume, about knowledge and the Second Sophistic.

⁵² A civilian audience might have wanted to convey their expertise in military matters to their peers, much as Procopius might have done to his audience by including, among other things, a description of a ballista. See the comments of Turquois in Chapter 15, this volume.

⁵³ At least Cicero did for the latter: see Cic. *De or.* 3.133–4.

⁵⁴ R. Morstein-Marx, *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge, 2004), 257.

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Chapter 18

Les contrats de travail dans l'Antiquité tardive : évolution du droit, évolution d'un genre?

Christel Freu

Longtemps l'Antiquité tardive fut perçue comme une période d'abâtardissement en tout genre : droit romain corrompu par des tendances orientalisantes, affaiblissement des droits des citoyens par la généralisation de la citoyenneté romaine au III^e siècle, extension de statuts personnels ambigus comme celui des fameux colons *serui glebae*. Bien des études récentes, réagissant contre cette vision décliniste, ont fait justice de ces affirmations, sans pour autant nier l'originalité et la vitalité de cette époque singulière.

Je vais ici m'inscrire dans cette historiographie récente en considérant l'angle particulier du droit contractuel, sujet qui a passionné les juristes classiques et post-classiques et a donc laissé une abondante littérature jurisprudentielle, qui n'est cependant pas simple à décrypter du fait des compilations et interpolations tardives. Parmi tous les types de contrats existants, je prendrai comme exemple le contrat de louage du travail, qui en droit romain s'appelle la *locatio operarum*¹ et en droit grec revêt des formes diverses selon les types de location (*misthōsis*

¹ Tout au long du XX^e siècle, un débat a opposé les juristes au sujet de l'unicité des contrats de *locatio conductio*. La tripartition moderne des contrats de louages (*locatio rei, operis et operarum*), a été contestée par V. Arangio-Ruiz dès les années 1920 et à sa suite par R. Fiori, *La definizione della locatio-conductio: giurisprudenza romana e tradizione romanistica* (Naples, 1999), part. 28–45 ; 118–25 ; 155–81. P. J. Du Plessis, *Letting and Hiring in Roman Legal Thought: 27 BCE–284 CE* (Leyde, 2012), s'inscrit dans ce courant. Contra T. Mayer-Maly, *Locatio conductio. Eine Untersuchung zum klassischen römischen Recht* (Vienne-Munich, 1956), 17–21 et R. Zimmermann, *The Law of Obligations. Roman Foundations of the Civilian Tradition* (Oxford, 1990), qui, même s'ils reconnaissent que les trois types relèvent du même *iudicium bonae fidei*, n'en voient pas moins trois types bien distincts dans les sources juridiques. Je m'en tiendrai ici – mais l'argumentation serait à approfondir – à la tripartition traditionnelle, car on explique mal autrement le paiement de la *merces* par le *locator* ou par le *conductor* selon que l'on est dans un contrat de *locatio operis* ou *operarum*.

tôn ergôn, *misthōsis* seul ou *misthōtikè homologia*² ou *misthōtikon*³) et selon les types formulaires, chirographe, homologie subjective écrite à la première personne, homologie objective ou *hypomnèma*.⁴ Longtemps négligés, car jugés peu représentatifs des rapports de travail dans le monde romain, ces contrats ont attiré récemment l'attention de la critique historique et juridique,⁵ sans en épuiser encore la richesse. Car nous avons la chance d'avoir conservé en Égypte ou dans d'autres provinces orientales un certain nombre de ces documents en grec et en copte, sur papyrus et ostraka. Pour le Haut Empire, il est sûr que les contrats sur papyrus sont davantage le reflet du droit provincial – comme la fameuse 'loi des Égyptiens'⁶ – que du droit romain. Toutefois, on le verra, si les juristes romains dissertent davantage sur la *locatio conductio* romaine et ses implications, ils n'oublient pas les contrats provinciaux ; ensuite, les contrats grecs d'Égypte ou de Judée témoignent d'une romanisation progressive de leur formulaire et de la révolution produite par l'édit de Caracalla dans la rédaction des contrats. Aussi, comme notre propos porte moins sur le louage romain en tant que tel que sur l'évolution du genre contractuel dans l'Empire, pensons-nous pouvoir, malgré la

² P. Strasb. I, 40 (Antinoopolis, 569 ap. J.-C.) emploie concurremment *misthōsis* et *misthōtikè homologia*.

³ Le mot apparaît en P. Heid. V, 345, l. 15 (Oxyrhynchite, V^e siècle ap. J.-C.). Pour l'étude de cette terminologie, voir A. Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen von Arbeiten im späten griechischsprachigen Ägypten* (= P. Heid. V) (Heidelberg, 1990), 165–7 et 222–32 (pour l'étude de la *misthōsis tôn ergôn*).

⁴ Voir H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ von Gebäuden im Recht der Gräko-Ägyptischen papyri* (Cologne/Munich, 1985), 18–82, pour l'étude des types formulaires et leur évolution dans l'Antiquité tardive.

⁵ Pendant très longtemps, historiens et juristes ont considéré que les rapports salariés occupaient une place négligeable dans le marché du travail romain, du fait du poids considérable du travail servile : D. Nörr, 'Zur sozialen und rechtlichen Bewertung der freien Arbeit in Rom', ZSS 105 (1965), 67–105, part. 90, idée que l'on retrouve dans Zimmermann, *Law of Obligations*, 350, 387–91. Pour la réappréciation du travail salarié, voir la bibliographie donnée par D. Kehoe, 'Contract Labor', dans W. Scheidel, éd., *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Economy* (Cambridge, 2012), 114–30, et voir aussi maintenant, pour le salariat rural et son évolution, T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt. The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchos* (Ann Arbor, 2012), 79–89 et Chr. Freu, 'Les salariés de la terre dans l'Antiquité tardive', *AnTard* 21 (2013), 283–298.

⁶ Voir notamment : J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, 'La singularité de l'Égypte', dans Cl. Lepelletier, *Rome et l'intégration de l'Empire (44 av. J.-C.–260 ap. J.-C.)*, T. 2 (Paris, 2002⁶), 435–93 ; U. Yiftach-Firanko, 'Law in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Hellenization, Fusion, Romanization', dans R. Bagnall, éd., *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009), 541–60, à 550–52, qui pense que cette 'loi des Égyptiens', connue notamment par le fameux P. Oxy. II, 237, était un manuel de lois locales, grecques et égyptiennes à usage des juges romains.

prudence de certains,⁷ utiliser textes juridiques et papyrus en regard, surtout pour la période post-classique.

Ces contrats de travail appartiennent donc à un 'genre' documentaire aux règles formulaires variables d'un bout à l'autre de l'Empire. De ce fait, ce 'genre' à but pratique, n'a pas de forme fixe et ni de prétention à la littérature. Toutefois, les contrats latins, où l'écrit est pensé comme le support d'une récitation orale, témoignent d'un style et d'une forme propre au ritualisme politico-religieux romain : on y lit des traces d'archaïsmes formulaires, de répétitions de mots ou d'allitérations⁸ que l'on retrouve beaucoup moins dans les contrats grecs, plus écrits, où seuls comptent les conséquences pratiques de l'acte et le respect des formes juridiques.

En me penchant sur les changements formels intervenus dans la rédaction des contrats entre le III^e et le VI^e siècles, en scrutant les rituels entourant l'échange des consentements et l'écriture des actes, je vais aussi m'interroger sur ce qu'ils impliquent en terme juridiques et sociaux. Cette relative évolution des contrats laisse-t-elle percevoir des changements dans la condition des travailleurs ?

Le 'genre' des contrats : formulaire et matérialité de l'acte

Les contrats d'embauche romains appartiennent au genre des contrats consensuels, dont la forme n'est guère précisée par les juristes classiques. Au II^e siècle, selon la fameuse division des *Institutiones* ou *Commentarii* de Gaius, il y a quatre manières de créer l'obligation par contrat : le document écrit, les paroles échangées, les choses consignées ou le consensus des parties.⁹ Le consensus était en fait exigé

⁷ Du Plessis, *Letting and Hiring*, 7, estime ainsi qu'on ne peut s'appuyer sur les papyrus pour réfléchir sur le droit romain des contrats, quoique le contrat de *locatio-conductio* entre dans la catégorie du *ius gentium*. Il a raison pour ceux d'Égypte, mais d'autres contrats provinciaux comme ceux de Judée, se sont bien adaptés au droit romain des contrats consensuels avant 212. On le verra *infra*.

⁸ Voir à ce sujet les belles pages de E.A. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law in the Roman World: Tabulae in Roman Belief and Practice* (Cambridge, 2004), 44–72, reprenant les travaux des linguistes sur les tablettes romaines, ainsi que ceux d'ethnologues comme M. Bloch sur les expressions rituelles de l'autorité. Les contrats de travail latins ne sont pas les meilleurs exemples des formules rituelles, mais ils n'y échappent pas, malgré tout : on en verra un exemple.

⁹ Gaius *Inst.* III, 89, *CUF*, éd. et trad. J. Reinach : *Et prius uideamus de his [obligationibus], quae ex contractu nascuntur. Harum autem quattuor genera sunt ; aut enim re contrahitur obligatio, aut uerbis aut litteris aut consensu*. 'Et voyons d'abord ce qui a trait à ces obligations qui naissent d'un contrat. Elles sont de quatre genres : l'obligation se contracte par prestation, verbalement, par écrit ou par consensus'.

dans tous les cas, mais les contrats de location étaient dits simplement ‘par consensus’ puisqu’aucune forme fixe, orale ou écrite, n’était exigée d’eux.¹⁰

La pensée juridique reconnaissait en effet que, pour les besoins des affaires des habitants de l’Empire, bien des contrats ne devaient pas suivre un formalisme dépassé.¹¹ Apparus assez tardivement dans le monde latin,¹² les contrats de location furent donc, comme les contrats d’achat/vente, constitués en catégorie à part, purement consensuelle et sans forme déterminée. Ainsi, Paul écrivait dans son commentaire de l’édit du préteur : *Locatio et conductio cum naturalis sit et omnium gentium, non uerbis, sed consensu contrahitur, sicut emptio et uenditio*¹³ ‘comme la location et la conduction sont choses naturelles appartenant à tous les peuples, elles ne sont pas engagées par des paroles mais par le consensus, de même que l’achat et la vente’.

Ce refus de formalisme strict pour les contrats consensuels ne signifiait évidemment pas absence de forme ; seulement, aux yeux des juristes romains, l’obligation de l’acte ne résidait que dans la seule *bona fides* des parties qui s’accordaient entre elles sur un objectif commun. Quelle que soit donc la forme rédigée de l’acte, le rappel du consentement échangé par oral, en présence des parties – la *solemnitas uerborum*, l’*obligatio uerborum*¹⁴ – était seul à même d’engager l’action en justice, l’écrit n’ayant valeur que de preuve.¹⁵ C’est bien ce dont témoignent les fameuses tablettes de Dacie, datées du II^e siècle, où ont été écrits quelques contrats d’embauche de mineurs dans les mines d’or impériales : ces écrits rappellent la convention orale passée entre l’employeur et son employé et soulignent l’objet de l’accord dans une formule liminaire aux répétitions et allitérations typique des *pacta* romains (*dixsit se locas(s)e [et] locauit operas s[ua]s*) :

¹⁰ Contrat consensuel remarquablement expliqué par A. Magdelain, *Le consensualisme dans l’édit du préteur* (Paris, 1958) ; cf. aussi Zimmermann, *Law of Obligations*, 384 ; Du Plessis, *Letting and Hiring*, 17–19.

¹¹ Pour cela, voir S. Riccobono et al., *Stipulation and the Theory of Contract* (Amsterdam/Cape Town, 1957), 109–122 (engl. trans. with further notes and introduction of S. Riccobono, ‘*Stipulatio ed instrumentum* nel Diritto giustiniano’, *ZSS RA* 35 (1914), 214–305 et 47 (1922), 262–397).

¹² On estime maintenant que ces contrats sont apparus au II^e siècle av. J.-C. : cf. Fiori, *Locatio-conductio*.

¹³ Paul 34 ad ed. *Dig.* 19, 2, 1.

¹⁴ Sur la *solemnitas uerborum*, on a plusieurs textes qui le rappellent : Ps. Paul, *Sent.* V, 7, 1 ; *Inst.* III, 15 (où l’on admet tout de même l’assouplissement des formules) ; *CJ* IV, 64, 3 (*stipulatio subiecta ex uerborum obligatione*). Pour d’autres références, voir encore Riccobono, *Stipulation*, 43–4. Pour le maintien – non pérenne – des principes du droit privé romain par Dioclétien, voir M. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, II, (Munich, 1959), 3 et 274 (pour l’obligation de *solemnitas uerborum* dans la *stipulatio*).

¹⁵ Riccobono, *Stipulation*, 41–2, a dressé la liste des passages des Prudents qui le rappellent. Cf. *Dig.* 44, 7, 38 Paul 3 ad edictum : *non figura litterarum sed oratione, quam exprimunt litterae, obligamur* ; *Dig.* 46, 2, 2.

*it quod dixit se locas(s)e [et] locauit operas s[ua]s opere aurario Aurelio Adiutori e[st] h[ab]ac die [i]n idu[s] Nouembres proximas (denariis) s[e]ptaginta liberisque X [mer]c[ede]m per tempora accipere debebit*¹⁶ ('Il déclara qu'il s'était loué et il loua son travail, en tant que travailleur dans la mine d'or, à Aurelius Adiutor depuis ce jour jusqu'aux prochaines ides de Novembre en échange de soixante-dix deniers et dix deniers pour ses enfants').

Ainsi, si les contrats romains étaient bien devenus, dès la fin de la République, ces 'actes unitaires' décrits par E. Meyer, où oral et écrit étaient intrinsèquement liés,¹⁷ l'échange des consentements oraux restait toutefois absolument décisif.

Or, les *misthōseis* grecques, contrats où l'écrit seul était source d'obligation et élément de preuve,¹⁸ n'avaient jamais été de vrais contrats consensuels et ne le devinrent pas plus sous l'Empire.¹⁹ Quand ils ne s'adaptèrent pas au système juridique romain, ces documents demeurèrent donc sans doute en dehors des règles de la *locatio conductio* romaine, pourtant conçue de façon large pour s'adapter aux besoins de tous. En revanche, les contrats que leurs auteurs voulaient intégrer au système romain pour qu'ils puissent être produits dans les tribunaux des gouverneurs de provinces, subirent une légère modification des formules finales : on constate en effet, dès le II^e siècle ap. J.-C., en Judée ou en Asie Mineure, l'apparition à la fin de certains contrats grecs d'une clause dite 'stipulatoire', sûrement destinée à donner à l'acte sa légalité devant les cours romaines.²⁰ Cette clause devint systématique

¹⁶ *TC. X (CIL III, 2, p. 948, rééditée par H.-C. Noeske, 'Studien zur Verwaltung und Bevölkerung der dakischen Goldbergwerke in römischer Zeit', BJ, 177 (1977), 271-415, part. 398, qui retient pour ce texte la lecture du CIL, liberisque, et non cibarisque).*

¹⁷ Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law*, *passim* (mais part. 72-124).

¹⁸ Gaius *Inst.* III, 134, *CUF*, éd et trad. J. Reinach : *Praeterea litterarum obligatio fieri uidetur chirographis et syngraphis, id est si quis debere se aut daturum se scribat ... Quod genus obligationis proprium peregrinorum est.* 'Une obligation naît aussi, semble-t-il, par écrit, du fait de chirographes et de *syngraphai*, c'est-à-dire d'écrits par quoi on reconnaît une dette actuelle ou future ; ce genre d'obligations est propre aux pérégrins'. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law*, 12-20, souligne toutefois combien la valeur du document écrit grec a varié en Orient. C'est seulement à l'époque hellénistique que son caractère d'obligation s'affirme.

¹⁹ Si R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri (332 BC-640 AD)* (Warsaw 1955), 354-88, affirmait que les *misthōseis* grecques faisaient partie des contrats consensuels, toute une littérature allemande a démontré, de façon convaincante, le contraire (ainsi H.J. Wolff, 'Consensual contracts in the Papyri?', *JJP* 1 (1946), 55-79 ; *idem*, 'Die Grundlagen des griechischen Vertragsrechts', *ZSS* 74 (1957), 26-72 ; Müller, *ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ*, 301-6).

²⁰ Pour la clause stipulatoire, voir L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreiches*, (Zurich/New York, 1984 [1891]), 491-5 ; Riccobono, *Stipulation*, notamment 18-20 ; D. Simon, *Studien zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel* (Munich, 1964), pour sa signification et son évolution ; M. Amelotti, G. Costamagna, *Alle origini del notariato italiano* (Rome, 1975), 14-15 ; Kaser, *Privatrecht*, II, 236-9, 273-81 ; Müller, *ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ*, 44-6 et H.F. von Soden, *Untersuchungen*

en Égypte seulement après 212.²¹ Tous les contrats grecs tardifs se conclurent désormais par la formule : ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὡμ(ολόγησα) ‘ayant été interrogé, je m’y suis engagé’. Le verbe grec ὁμολογῶ dont la polysémie est depuis longtemps reconnue, signifie dans cette phrase ‘s’engager’, ‘promettre’, alors qu’il a le sens de ‘reconnaître’ au début des documents d’homologie.²² L’insertion de cette clause, comme en témoigne aussi Ulpien, avait donc pour fonction nouvelle de rappeler l’interrogation orale des parties en récapitulant l’accord et ainsi, sans doute, de donner valeur de contrat consensuel.²³

Ce changement formulaire a paru à certains savants comme étant uniquement de façade ;²⁴ il est cependant très net : la généralisation de la stipulation a fait entrer,

zur Homologie in den griechischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian (Cologne, 1973), 122. Cf. aussi Zimmermann, *Law of Obligations*, 78–82. Pour les papyrus du désert de Judée : voir les *P. Yadin* 17–18, 20–22, 37 (datés entre 110 et 131 et comportant la formule grecque : πίστει ἐπρωτήθη καὶ ἀνθωμολογήθη ταῦτα οὕτως καλῶς γείνεσθαι). Voir à leur propos E.A. Meyer, ‘Diplomatics, Law and Romanisation in the Documents from the Judaean Desert’, dans J.W. Cairns and P.J. Du Plessis, *Beyond Dogmatics. Law and Society in the Roman World* (Édimbourg, 2007), 53–82. Il faut y ajouter un papyrus rédigé à Sidé en Pamphylie en 142 ap. J.-C. et retrouvé en Égypte (*P. Turner* 22), acte grec de vente d’une esclave avec clause stipulatoire romaine.

²¹ B. Adams, *Paramonè und verwandte Texte. Studien zum Dienstvertrag im Rechte der Papyri* (Berlin 1964), 98–9, croyait que cette clause n’apparaissait que tardivement et jamais systématiquement et il prenait pour exemple *SB* IV, 7358 (daté du règne de Probus). Or la lecture de H.C. Youtie, ‘P. Mich. Inv. 2819 = *Sammelbuch* IV 7358’, *ZPE* 13 (1974), 235–7, a justement restauré la clause stipulatoire aux lignes 17–18. Il est désormais certain que l’ajout de la clause fut systématique après 212.

²² Wolff, ‘Grundlagen’, 53–61 et von Soden, *Homologie*, 8–38, rappellent tous deux les diverses traductions possibles du verbe ὁμολογεῖν (sens de ‘reconnaître’ et d’‘attester’ un fait ou une obligation ; de ‘promettre quelque chose’ ; ou enfin de ‘s’accorder’). Le sens le plus fréquent dans les contrats est celui de ‘reconnaître’, car il donne à l’homologie grecque sa valeur probatoire. Mais von Soden, *Homologie*, 122, reconnaît aussi que le sens d’ὁμολογεῖν dans la clause stipulatoire n’est pas celui de la majorité des documents grecs et qu’il subit là l’influence romaine.

²³ *Dig.* 2, 14, 7, 12 : *Ulpianus 4 ad ed. Quod fere nouissima parte pactorum ita solet inseri ‘rogauit Titius, spondit Maevius’, haec uerba non tantum pactionis loco accipiuntur, sed etiam stipulationis.* (‘Les mots insérés d’ordinaire à la fin des contrats en ces termes : “Titius a demandé ; Maevius a promis”, ne sont pas seulement reçus au rang de contrat, mais au rang de stipulation’). Si, selon Riccobono, *Stipulation*, 64–7, Ulpien n’a pas pu vouloir dire que le contrat avec cette clause valait stipulation (au sens de contrat oral), il prouve bien en revanche l’importance nouvelle des clauses stipulatoires pour légaliser les actes : cf. Meyer, *Legitimacy and Law*, 73–120 ; Riccobono, *Stipulation*, 26 (‘The stipulation served to confer legal efficacy on any sort of agreement’), ce que dit exactement le Ps. Paul, *Sent.* V, 7, 1 : *Obligationum firmandarum gratia stipulationis inductae sunt, quae quadam uerborum sollemnitate concipiuntur* ...

²⁴ Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen*, 373–4, ne croit pas du tout à une romanisation des contrats grecs à l’époque tardive. Adams, *Paramonè*, 96–112, était plus nuancé (il parle de la *paramonè* comme d’un contrat mixte : ‘wir haben einen Vertragstyp vor uns, der

sans discussion, tous les contrats grecs et indigènes dans la forme des contrats consensuels. La clause sert assurément à légaliser les contrats – elle accompagne en effet la formule *kuria è homologia* ou *kurion to sunallagma*²⁵ – et ce, jusqu'à la période arabe. Elle se retrouve en effet dans des contrats coptes très tardifs jusqu'au VIII^e siècle,²⁶ la formule classique ne disparaissant que vers 710/720 au profit d'une autre, au moment précis où les chefs de village gréco-égyptiens viennent à être remplacés comme arbitres par des administrateurs arabes.²⁷

Toutefois, cette clause stipulatoire, pour importante qu'elle soit, semble être redevenue en Orient, malgré les rappels à l'ordre des empereurs, une clause écrite ; l'exigence de la présence des parties et de l'interrogation orale s'effaça progressivement dans les faits et finit d'ailleurs par être assouplie dans les lois de Justinien.²⁸ On trouve en effet dans certains textes un serment oral venant renouveler la *uerborum sollemnitatis* qui manquait désormais et renforcer, de façon solennelle, l'engagement. Ainsi, dans le fameux contrat que la corporation des bergers d'Aphroditô, toute entière assemblée (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ποιμένων καὶ ἀγροφυλάκων), passe avec les propriétaires terriens du bourg, les bergers disent, immédiatement avant la clause stipulatoire, qu'ils ont prêté un serment très contraignant : 'et pour garantie, nous avons établi ce contrat en prêtant le divin et vénérable serment' (καὶ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἐθέμεθα τα(ύ)την τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὁμνύοντες τὸν θεῖον καὶ σεβάσμιον ὄρκον).²⁹ Une autre trace de serment adjoint à un contrat de travail se trouve en Afrique dans une lettre d'un correspondant d'Augustin datée des années 390 : un dénommé Publicola, propriétaire terrien très inquiet d'être souillé par des actes impies, rapporte en tremblant à l'évêque que des serments (*iuramenta*) ont pu être demandés aux nomades païens au moment de leur embauche comme gardiens de récolte ou gardes des convois de transports.³⁰

aus volkrechtlichen und römischen Elementen gemischt ist'). Amelotti et Costamagna, *Notariato*, 15, vont aussi dans le sens d'une influence réciproque des deux droits. Cela me convainc tout à fait.

²⁵ Pour cette clause, voir Müller, ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΣ, 41–4 (elle sert, jusqu'à l'époque byzantine, à authentifier les actes).

²⁶ Voir par exemple un contrat d'embauche de chameliers sur ostrakon : CO 218, où la forme du parfait I est cependant mal orthographiée.

²⁷ W. Till, 'Die koptische Stipulationsklausel', *Orientalia* 19 (1950), 81–7. L'ancienne forme dérivée du grec est au parfait I : 'quand j'ai/nous avons été interrogé(s), j'ai/nous avons donné mon/notre accord'. La forme nouvelle des conclusions est au conjonctif : 'quand je serai/nous serons interrogé(s), je donnerai/nous donnerons mon/notre accord', ce qui sous-entend que l'accord sera désormais prouvé à l'oral devant l'autorité.

²⁸ Voir CJ VIII, 37, 14 (531 ap. J.-C.) et les commentaires de Riccobono, *Stipulation*, 55–9 et Kaser, *Privatrecht*, II, 238 et 275–81 soulignant sa dégénérescence en clause écrite ('verwandelt sie sich im Westen wie im Osten in ein schriftliches Schuldversprechen'), même s'il pense que Justinien a essayé de sauver le système classique, tout en n'y parvenant pas.

²⁹ P. Cairo Masp. 67001, 32–4 daté de 514 (la stipulation est à la fin de la ligne 34).

³⁰ Le contrat a été ensuite établi devant témoins (*testes*), qui viennent donner validité à l'acte : Aug., *Ep.* 46, 2 (Publicola Augustino), CSEL 34, 2, p. 124 : *Hoc etiam audiui*,

Ces prestations solennelles de serment rappellent les *cautiones iuratoriae* qu'exigeaient les officiers publics en cas de conflit entre des groupes ou des individus ; passées devant les autorités, elles étaient jugées plus contraignantes encore que les contrats traditionnels.³¹ Cela explique sans doute qu'elles aient été aussi exigées dans certains contrats privés.

En dehors de l'insertion de la clause stipulatoire, qui signale 212 comme une date charnière pour le droit privé,³² les types formulaires subissent d'autres changements formels, dont la portée historique est toutefois modeste : à partir de la réforme administrative de Dioclétien, les scribes abandonnent la traditionnelle datation des documents par années régnales – tradition remontant à l'époque ptolémaïque – pour adopter la forme romaine des années consulaires. Puis, les nouvelles exigences notariales entraînées par la réforme de Justinien de 537 (*Nov.* 47, 1) font que la date, écrite désormais au début du document, devient très longue puisqu'elle doit désormais comprendre l'année régnale, le consulat et l'indiction. Autre changement matériel visible : les signes chrétiens se multiplient au début et en conclusion du document. Enfin, les contrats sont de plus en plus prolixes et verbeux.³³ Toutefois, malgré ces changements, les types de *misthōseis* classiques changent peu : ainsi la *misthōsis tōn ergōn*, contrat concernant surtout des travaux

quia ipsi homines conductores, qui praesunt rei meae, iuramentum per daemones suos iurantibus barbaris accipiunt pro reseruandis frugibus 'J'ai aussi entendu dire que les même conductores qui dirigent ma propriété, reçoivent, pour faire garder les récoltes, un serment des barbares qui jurent par leurs démons' ; *Id., Ep.* 46, 4, CSEL 34, 2, p. 125 : *Si debeo requirere de utroque, qui mihi dixit, quia non iuratur conductori, aut qui dixit, quia iuratur conductori. Et dictum uniuscuiusque probare per testes, qui uerum dixit de illis duobus ...* ('si je dois enquêter sur l'un et l'autre, celui qui m'a dit que le fermier n'a pas reçu de serment, et celui qui m'a dit que le fermier a reçu un serment et faire la preuve par des témoins des dires de l'un et de l'autre – qui a dit vrai de ces deux-là ?').

³¹ C'est un serment similaire que prêtent en 459 les entrepreneurs du bâtiment devant l'*ekdikos* venu régler les troubles sur les chantiers de la ville et exiger la reprise des travaux : W. H. Buckler/D. M. Robinson, *Sardis VII, 1, Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1932), 18, l. 56–8 : καὶ πρὸς τὰ προγεγ[ρα]μμένα / πάντα ἐπερωτηθέντες παρὰ τῆς σῆς θαυμασιότητος ὁμ-/ολογ[η]σάμεν τῇδε τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ καὶ ἑξομοσίᾳ. Pour une étude fine et comparée de cette *cautio iuratoria* de l'inscription de Sardes, voir M. Di Branco, 'Lavoro e conflittualità sociale in una città tardoantica. Una rilettura dell'epigrafe di Sardi CIG 3467 (Le Bas-Waddington 628 = *Sardis VII, 1, n. 18*)', *AnTard* 8 (2000), 181–208.

³² En matière contractuelle, l'époque tétrarchique a souvent été perçue comme un moment charnière : ainsi O. Montevecchi, *I Contratti di lavoro e di servizio nell'Egitto greco-romano e bizantino* (Milan, 1950), 7–8 ou J. Hengstl, *Private Arbeitsverhältnisse freier Arbeiter in den hellenistischen Papyri bei Diokletian* (Bonn, 1972), 2. Mais les grandes ruptures politiques ne correspondent pas toujours à celles du droit privé (voir Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen*, 370–73).

³³ Voir H. J. Wolff, 'Der Byzantinische Urkundenstil Ägyptens im Lichte der Funde von Nessana und Dura', *RIDA* 8 (1961), 115–54 et Amelotti et Costamagna, *Notariato*, 51–68.

très spécialisés de mise en valeur des vignobles pour des durées de un ou deux ans, est attestée en Égypte du II^e au V^e siècle sans discontinuer.³⁴

Pour évaluer les changements, l'étude du formulaire n'est d'ailleurs pas la seule voie possible. La place respective de chaque type de contrat aux différentes époques a aussi été étudiée, de nombreux spécialistes concluant à une augmentation des contrats 'asservissants' au Bas-Empire. C'est ce que l'on va considérer à présent.

Diversité des contrats, diversité des conditions laborieuses

Si ces changements formels du genre contractuel, réels, ont des portées historiques diverses, on a aussi insisté depuis longtemps sur la place grandissante prise dans l'Antiquité tardive par les 'contrats de service' d'origine orientale (dits de *paramonè*), aux conditions contraignantes de résidence et de travail : c'était là assurément la preuve de la dégradation des conditions de travail,³⁵ voire de celle des statuts personnels.³⁶ À contrecourant de ce jugement, seul F.M. de Robertis, se fondant sur le témoignage des constitutions tardives, postulait une amélioration des conditions et des rapports de travail dans l'Antiquité tardive.³⁷

Il est sûr que les 'contrats de service' étaient nombreux dans la collecte réunie par O. Montevecchi en 1950. Mais il y avait aussi, on l'a dit, des embauches entre artisans à court terme, des embauches régulières de constructeurs de bateaux, de bergers, d'intendants de domaines. Quant aux nouveaux papyrus édités par A. Jördens en 1990, ils ne comptaient plus aucun 'contrat de service', mais

³⁴ Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen*, 222–32 ; 372 et Hickey, *Wine*, 79–81. Ce dernier souligne que ces *misthōseis tôn ergôn* s'éteignent précisément quand une autre forme d'exploitation du travail est disponible : l'emploi des *geōrgoi enapographoi*. C'est très convaincant. On trouve un intéressant parallèle occidental de *misthōsis tôn ergôn* dans Optat de Milève, *Tr.*, V, 9–10.

³⁵ Adams, *Paramonè*, 44–91, s'est toutefois attaché à montrer la grande diversité de ces contrats, qui n'étaient pas tous, comme le pensait W. Westermann, 'The *paramonè* as general service contract', *JJP* 2 (1948), 9–50, des contrats de service sans aucune spécification du travail à accomplir.

³⁶ Montevecchi, *I Contratti*, 7–8 ; Hengstl, *Private Arbeitsverhältnisse*.

³⁷ F.M. De Robertis, 'Locatio operarum e "Status" del lavoratore', *SDHI* 27 (1961), 19–45 (notamment 39–42), repris sous le titre 'Contratto di Lavoro e "Status" del lavoratore' dans F.M. De Robertis, *Lavoro e lavoratori nel mondo romano* (Bari, 1963), 143–81, part. 172–7, où le savant estime qu'il n'y a pas dans l'Antiquité tardive de tendance à l'asservissement des travailleurs, abstraction faite des contrats de service ('a prescindere poi dai contratti di lavoro pervenuti attraverso i papiri greco-egizi dell'età tardo-romana, in cui i lavoratori, in uno stato di degradante soggezione, vengono qualificati *kata douloi, phamiliarioi, paramonarioi, en taxei douleuterôn*'). Je suis absolument d'accord avec lui et m'étonne qu'il n'ait pas ainsi lu le texte des *Sentences* du pseudo-Paul (discuté *infra*) à cette lumière.

concernaient des embauches de vigneron, de gardiens de récolte ou encore d'un « gérant d'écurie » de la poste publique (*stabilitès*).³⁸ Et si l'on ajoute aux textes grecs les documents coptes écrits de la fin du VI^e siècle au VIII^e siècle,³⁹ l'impression d'une réelle diversité contractuelle s'impose désormais, de même que s'efface ou se relativise le poids des contrats de *paramonè*. L'importance relative de ceux-ci peut d'ailleurs s'expliquer par le contexte archéologique des trouvailles d'époque byzantine, où, à l'inverse du Haut Empire, les villes ont fourni plus de papyrus que les villages – notamment les archives des grands propriétaires fonciers conservées dans les palais des chefs-lieux.⁴⁰ Or, les emplois de service domestique avaient plus cours en milieu citadin que dans les villages, où l'on recourait davantage aux embauches temporaires de moissonneurs ou de gardiens de récolte. Ceci posé, il semble donc qu'aucun type de contrat ne l'emporte sur un autre dans l'Antiquité tardive.

Devant cette diversité contractuelle, faut-il alors continuer à penser que les conditions de travail se sont vraiment dégradées au Bas Empire?

Un texte des *Sentences* du pseudo-Paul (II, 18, 1), compilation très utilisée dans l'Occident des IV^e–V^e siècles et dans les lois barbares paraît certes la confirmer en proclamant : *Homo liber, qui statum suum in potestate habet, et peiorem eum et meliorem facere potest : atque ideo operas suas diurnas nocturnasque locat*.⁴¹ ('L'homme libre qui a son statut en son pouvoir, peut le rendre meilleur ou pire : et c'est pourquoi il loue ses services jour et nuit.')

La deuxième phrase du texte est certainement mutilée ; néanmoins, on l'a généralement comprise comme développant l'idée de la dégradation du statut et des conditions de travail à l'époque tardive.

Cependant, F.M. De Robertis a montré très justement que cette phrase du pseudo-Paul était en totale contradiction avec la tradition portée par des

³⁸ P. Heid. V, 349. Pour le sens de *stabilitès*, Jördens, *Vertragliche Regelungen*, 43–8 (cf. aussi le P. Oxy. I, 140 = Montevicchi 17, qui, lui, est un contrat de service un peu particulier).

³⁹ W.C. Till, 'Die koptischen Arbeitsverträge', *Eos*, 48, 1 (1956), 272–329. On y trouve des contrats d'irrigation, de location et de travail sur un bateau, d'embauche de chameliers. Seuls quelques contrats écrits en contexte ecclésiastique sont un peu singuliers : un allumeur de lampe non payé risque toutefois d'être excommunié s'il n'accomplit pas sa tâche scrupuleusement !

⁴⁰ R. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (New York, 1995), 28 ('serious questions arise about the comparability of the finds of the two periods [Roman and Byzantine]').

⁴¹ Ps.-Paul. *Sent.* II, 18, 1. Cf. De Robertis, 'Contratto di Lavoro', 143–81 ; contra Nörr, 'Bewertung der freien Arbeit', 67–105. M. Humbert, 'Enfants à louer ou à vendre : Augustin et l'autorité parentale (*Ep.* 10* et 24*)', dans *Les lettres de saint Augustin découvertes par Johannes Divjak, Colloque des 20 et 21 septembre 1982* (Paris, 1983), 189–204 (part. 193–5), estime aussi que le texte des *Sentences* témoigne des évolutions tardives, mais sans s'occuper de la contradiction manifeste existant avec les constitutions de Dioclétien reprises au *Code Justinien*.

constitutions tardives réunies au *Code Justinien* : ainsi en mars 294, Dioclétien écrit : 'Si votre possession n'a été revendiquée à aucun titre, mais qu'en hommes dont la liberté est établie, vous avez loué votre travail pour un salaire convenu, d'une part rien n'est retranché à votre statut, d'autre part vous n'êtes pas empêchés d'intenter une action solennelle pour demander l'accomplissement du respect de la convention'.⁴² Dioclétien et le pseudo-Paul semblent ici dire exactement le contraire.

Pour sortir de l'aporie, De Robertis estime que le texte des *Sentences* reflète plutôt des rapports de travail plus anciens. Il est bien le seul à le penser et à vrai dire ne convainc guère en tentant de démontrer, pour l'époque tardo-républicaine et haut-impériale, un assujettissement qui disparaîtrait à l'époque tardive. La solution proposée par Dieter Nörr, selon laquelle le texte des *Sentences* du pseudo- Paul évoquerait non un changement de statut juridique mais seulement un changement de statut de travail et refléterait des situations juridiques post-classiques⁴³ n'est pas beaucoup plus convaincante. Car le mot *status* garde bien, dans les textes législatifs tardifs et surtout dans ces constitutions impériales tétrarchiques qui précisément traitent du même sujet, le sens précis de condition juridique personnelle : la constitution de Dioclétien de 294 en est un bon exemple.

J'avance donc ici une troisième hypothèse, en estimant que le pseudo-Paul ne parle pas ici des contrats de location classiques. La seconde phrase du pseudo-Paul apporte en effet une précision, passée inaperçue de la critique : *operas suas diurnas nocturnasque locat*, dit l'auteur. On peut la comprendre de deux façons : soit il s'agit du regard abstrait et généraliste du juriste considérant les travaux effectués de jour **ou** de nuit, soit il s'agit de l'évocation d'un genre particulier de services s'effectuant continuellement jour **et** nuit, et en ce cas-là, il ne parle pas des types classiques de location, mais précisément des contrats de *paramonè* ou assimilés, attestés de l'époque hellénistique à l'époque byzantine, où le travailleur s'engage entièrement au service de son employeur, souvent pour éteindre une dette.⁴⁴ Or, l'Occident tardif a aussi développé ce genre de contrats de service, où la personne louée, souvent jeune, restait pendant longtemps, sans doute vingt-cinq ans, comme un esclave au service de l'employeur, comme en atteste la fameuse lettre Divjak 10* d'Augustin datée de 428 :

la foule de ceux que l'on appelle communément des marchands d'esclaves est si grande en Afrique, qu'ils vident cette terre d'une grande partie du genre humain en envoyant ceux dont ils font commerce, et qui sont presque tous des hommes libres, dans les provinces au-delà des mers. Il est difficile de trouver

⁴² CI. VII, 14 11 : *Si uestram possessionem nullus praecessit titulus, sed ingenui constituti operas mercede placita locastis, nec statui quicquam uestro derogatum est nec ad conuentionis implendam fidem sollemniter agere prohibemini.*

⁴³ Nörr, 'Bewertung der freien Arbeit', 86-9 et 103-4.

⁴⁴ Adams, *Paramonè*, 44-91, les a analysés, en soulignant toutefois (part. 51-2), que l'obligation de rester jour et nuit ne se trouve pas dans tous les contrats de *paramonè*.

même un petit nombre d'enfants vendus par leurs parents. Ces marchands ne les achètent pas, comme les lois romaines le permettent,⁴⁵ pour le travail de vingt-cinq années, mais ils les achètent au contraire comme esclaves et les revendent comme esclaves outre-mer.⁴⁶

Le texte du pseudo-Paul s'éclaire donc à la lecture de ce texte et des papyrus égyptiens qui soulignent bien cet asservissement temporaire.⁴⁷ Ainsi, dans l'un des contrats de service les plus complets, écrit à Antinoopolis en 569 ap. J.-C. et conclu entre un villageois sans profession connue et un *scholastikos*, fils du *comes* Thomas, de la ville d'Antinoopolis, on lit que l'homme se déclarant totalement libre (l. 28–9 καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐλευθερίας) se loue comme *phamiliarios*, asservi (*katadoulos*), mais pour une période de quatre ans seulement.⁴⁸ Les dispositions de service soulignent bien la présence constante du *phamiliarios* auprès de son employeur :

à condition qu'il reste auprès de votre illustre sagesse et qu'il s'occupe de vous sans faute et sans tromperie et ... qu'il accomplisse ses services journaliers sincèrement et sans mauvaise foi et qu'il soit contraint de faire tout son service de façon servile soit en terre étrangère soit chez vous avec diligence et sans

⁴⁵ Les mesures de Constantin légalisant la vente d'enfants, pour des motifs toujours discutés, sont conservées en *Frag. Vat.* 34 (313) et avec des modifications, en *CTh.*, V, 10, 1 (de 329). Pour la discussion : voir Humbert, 'Enfants à louer', 189–204, qui pense que la location se faisait jusqu'aux vingt-cinq ans de l'enfant ; *contra* Cl. Gebbia, 'Pueros uendere uel locare. Schiavitù e realtà africana nelle nuove lettere di s. Agostino', *Africa Romana* 4, 1 (1987), 215–27, part. 217 ; V. Neri, 'Tra schiavi e liberi : aspetti della mobilità sociale tardoantica', *Koinonia* 36 (2012), 89–107, notamment 102 ; V. Vuolante, 'Selling a freeborn child: Rhetoric and Social Realities in the Late Roman World', *Ancient Society* 33 (2003), part. 190, qui estiment qu'il s'agissait d'une location pendant 25 ans.

⁴⁶ Aug. *Ep.* 10*, 2, éd. Divjak, CSEL 88, p. 46–7 : *Tanta est eorum qui uulgo mangones uocantur in Africa multitudo, ut eam ex magna parte humano genere exhauriant transferendo quos mercantur in prouincias transmarinas et paene omnes liberos. Nam uix pauci reperiuntur a parentibus uenditi quos tamen non ut leges Romanae sinunt, operas uiginti quinque annorum emunt isti, sed prorsus sic emunt ut seruos et uendunt trans mare ut seruos ...* Pour le contexte de cette lettre, voir C. Wolff, 'À propos des vendeurs d'enfants', *L'Africa Romana* 15, 3 (2004), 1711–22, avec la bibliographie afférente.

⁴⁷ Adams, Paramonè, 52–3, estime qu'on ne peut assimiler la restriction de mouvement à un affaiblissement des droits personnels. Sa prudence est louable, mais pas entièrement convaincante : le texte cité ci-dessus souligne bien l'asservissement temporaire du travailleur.

⁴⁸ *P. Strasb.* I, 40 (= Montevecchi 19), l. 23–5, ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ ὁ προγεγραμμένος / Κολλοῦθος Βίκτορος φαμιλιάριος ἐδράϊος κατάδουλος πᾶς / διὰ ταύτης μου τῆς ἐγγράφου μισθωτικῆς ὁμολογίας ... ('Je, soussigné Kollouthos, fils de Victor, *phamiliarios*, établi comme serviteur, reconnais par ce contrat de louage écrit qui est le mien ...'). Voir aussi *PSI* VIII, 902 = Montevecchi 13 (provenant du grapheion de Tebtynis et datable entre 14 et 68).

mépris et qu'il ne s'éloigne jamais de son service d'esclave, retenu ainsi pendant quatre ans comptés à partir du premier du mois actuel de Phaôphi.⁴⁹

Ainsi, s'il y a bien modification, temporaire, du statut du travailleur dans ces types d'accord, ces situations de travail sont loin, toutefois, d'être devenues la norme dans l'Antiquité tardive : les papyrus grecs et coptes d'Égypte, comme aussi les lettres de Grégoire le Grand en Italie,⁵⁰ attestent de la perpétuation des locations classiques à l'époque byzantine.

Conclusion

On doit donc en somme considérer qu'il existait deux grandes manières de contracter dans l'Antiquité tardive :

- par des contrats de location classiques, dont le droit, les papyrus et la littérature montraient la pérennité, grâce à l'adaptation, dans un premier temps, des *misthōseis* grecques au consensualisme romain, puis des *locationes* romaines à l'importance dispositive de l'écrit en droit grec ;
- par des contrats de service, venus d'Orient et étendus à l'Occident, et dont rendent compte des papyrus, des passages de la littérature chrétienne, ainsi, sans doute, qu'un passage des *Sentences* du pseudo-Paul.

La place respective de ces deux grands types de contrats de louage ne peut être connue avec certitude. Mais il est sûr que dans cette Antiquité tardive, où l'esclavage n'avait pas disparu, le spectre des conditions personnelles et laborieuses était extrêmement varié, comme l'étaient les modes de contractualité.

Si la forme de ces contrats byzantins a bien subi des changements plus ou moins importants depuis 212 – introduction de la *stipulatio*, dont l'usage écrit était parfois renforcé par des serments oraux, modification de la datation et introduction de signes chrétiens – les principes du louage consensuel n'ont cependant pas fondamentalement été modifiés.

⁴⁹ P. Strasb. I, 40, l. 30–36 : ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτὸν παραμεῖναι τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ λαμπρᾷ σο[φ]ίᾳ κ[αί] / προσεδρεύειν καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδ[ό]λ[ω]ς κ[αί] ἐ[.] κ[αί] ταῖς ἡμ[ε]ρ[α]ῖς / χρεῖαις γνησίως καὶ ἐνδια[ρ]κῶς καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπεῖξασθαι δουλικῇ / αὐτῇ ὑπηρεσίαν εἴτε ἐπ' ἀλλοδαπῆς γῆς, εἴτε κατ' οἶκον ἀόκνως / καὶ ἀκαταφρο[ν]ήτως καὶ μ[η]δ' αὐτῶς / ἀποστῆναι τῆς δουλικῆς αὐ[τ]οῦ / προστάσι [ας καταλαμβανό(?)μενον ἐπὶ τετραετῇ χρ[ι]στίᾳ λογιζόμενον) / [ἀ]πὸ [ν]εομη[ν]ιά[ς] τ[οῦ] εἰσιόντος μηνὸς Φαῶφι

⁵⁰ Grégoire envoie ainsi, en octobre 598, au défenseur Scolasticus, Alexandre Frigiscus, colon de l'Église romaine (*colonus ecclesiae nostrae*) pour qu'il reçoive le salaire qui lui est dû après trois ans de travail (sans doute comme ouvrier) dans la maison qu'a fondée à Catane le diacre Cyprien : Ep. IX, 43, CC 140A, p. 601 : *triennii se tempore laborasse et mercedes non ut dignum est accepisse*.

Abstract

In 422/3 Augustine, in alluding to the scandal of the kidnapping of children by slave-traders, mentioned that Roman law nevertheless allowed sales perceived as long-term rents (Aug. *Ep.* 10*). This text, now well known, is important for the transformation of late antique law in regard to contracts. There are some indications that in Late Antiquity contracts of a new type were replacing in certain cases the old *locatio-conductio* contracts. Did late antique law and the documents it produced evolve to the point that the old types of contract became obsolete? Can we believe that this evolution brought about a steady enslavement of the population of the empire? The reality is more complex, however, and even the number of work contracts preserved shows both that there was no move away from legal formalities in establishing work relations and that traditional contracts continued to exist in the early Byzantine world. In fact, a large number of work contracts from Late Antiquity have been preserved, more indeed than from the High Empire, and their nature is extremely diverse. This paper analyses the issue by bringing to bear the evidence of the laws, the papyri and the literature of the fourth to sixth centuries.

Chapter 19

Natio, Gens, Provincialis and *Civis*: Geographical Terminology and Personal Identity in Late Antiquity

Ralph W. Mathisen

The Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity conferences traditionally have looked both at literal and metaphorical meanings and at different ways of approaching conventional topics. In this spirit, the very concept of ‘frontiers’ has been expanded to include not only traditional geographical frontiers, but also metaphorical frontiers relating to literature, philosophy and a multitude of other venues.¹ From this perspective, the concept of ‘genre’ can be defined in many ways. Genres are classifications that are created by conventions that change over time as new genres are introduced and old are discarded. Most usually they apply to forms of literature or art. In this case, one can look at the literary forms that are used to express concepts of identity, not, primarily, in literature, which itself is a construct, but mostly in epigraphical remains, which is the closest that one can get to the sense of identity of the actual people who are being described.

It generally has been thought that during the Principate genres of identity and citizenship revolved around two foci: on the one hand, Roman citizenship, and, on the other, local, that is, municipal citizenship.² For Roman citizens, these two forms of citizenship would have overlapped. All Roman citizens had municipal citizenship in a *civitas*, which was their official *patria*, even if they were not living there at the time. This status was manifested not only in Roman law but also for purposes of personal identification.³ It was very important

¹ As first demonstrated in Ralph Mathisen and Hagith Sivan, eds, *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity* (Ashgate Press, 1996).

² For Roman citizenship, see A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1979); Paulo Donati Giacomini, Gabrielle Poma, eds, *Cittadini e non cittadini nel Mondo Romano. Guida ai testi e ai documenti* (Bologna, 1996); Jane F. Gardner, *Being a Roman Citizen* (London, 1993); David Noy, *Foreigners at Rome: Citizens and Strangers* (London, 2000); Max Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht. Erster Abschnitt. Das altrömische, das vorklassische, und klassische Recht*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1971), 279–82.

³ *Digest* 50.1: *Ad municipalem et de incolis. Municipem aut nativitas facit aut manumissio aut adoptio*; 50.1.6.1: *Filius civitatem, ex qua pater eius naturalem originem*

because local citizenship was the basis for personal liability to municipal taxes and duties.

In the late Roman world, between the third and sixth centuries, genres of personal and legal identity became rather more complicated. Following the issuance of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212, when Roman citizenship became almost completely universal, people usually no longer were identified as Roman citizens but as citizens of cities. This aspect of late Roman citizenship is very well known. What is not so well known, however, is that at the same time even municipal identity became less and less used, and other genres of both personal and legal identity became more common. People increasingly created identity, attested mostly in epigraphy, based on geography and ethnicity. This is the type of identity that will be discussed here.

In the secondary literature there are very few references to this sort of personal identification. Charlotte Roueché, for example, spoke of identification by province rather than by city as a characteristic of the Byzantine Empire during the sixth century.⁴ This kind of identification also was widespread not only during Late Antiquity but even during the Principate and before.⁵

ducit, non domicilium sequitur’; 50.1.17.11: *Patris domicilium filium aliorum incolarum civilibus muneribus alienae civitatis non adstringit, cum in patris quoque persona domicilii ratio temporaria sit*; 50.1.17.13: *Sola domus possessio, quae in aliena civitate comparatur, domicilium non facit. Patria: e.g., AE 1917/18, no. 35: Bonum civem et propter universa officiorum in patriam*; also *AE* (1945), no. 81.

Personal identification, note, e.g., *CIL* 2.2.7.655: *Civis Tolosianus*.

⁴ For example, Charlotte Roueché, ‘Asia Minor and Cyprus’, in *CAH* XIV, 570–87, at 572: ‘Many people chose to describe themselves as inhabitants of their province – as “the Lydian” or “the Cappadocian” – rather than as citizens of particular towns.’ Nearly all others, however, neglect this aspect of establishing Roman identity; see, e.g., Geoffrey Greatrex, ‘Roman Identity in the Sixth Century,’ in Stephen Mitchell and Geoffrey Greatrex, eds, *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* (London, 2000), 267–92.

⁵ For the suggestion that this usage was ‘äusserst selten’ during the Roman Republic, see Peter Witzmann, ‘Integrations- und Identifikationsprozesse römischer Freigelassener nach Auskunft der Inschriften (1. Jh. v. Chr.)’, in Andreas Haltenhoff, Andreas Heil and Fritz-Heiner Mutschler, eds, *O tempora, o mores!: römische Werte und römische Literatur in den letzten Jahrzehnten der Republik* (Munich, 2003), 289–322 at 297; B. Borg, ‘Das Gesicht der Aufstiege’, in M. Braun, A. Haltenhoff and F.-H. Mutschler, eds, *Moribus antiquis res stat Romana* (Munich/Leipzig, 2000) 285–99, with references, e.g., to ‘natione Smurnaeus’, ‘natione Tebaeus’ and ‘natione Punica’ (*CIL* 1².2.2965a). For the Principate, see, undocumented, C. Howgego, ‘Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces’, in C. Howgego, V. Heuchert and A. Burnett, eds, *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 2004), 21: ‘In their appearances before governors Roman subjects typically described themselves in official terms, naming the city in which they held citizenship, or referring to their province.’

Identification by *gens* and *natio*

First, ethnic identification, which in the vast majority of surviving instances was manifested in epigraphical remains, most usually on epitaphs. One could indicate ethnicity by the words *gens* and *natio*.⁶ With regard to the word *gens*, that is, ‘people’, one could describe oneself, for example, as *ex gente Cantabrorum*, that is, ‘Cantabrian by ethnicity’.⁷ Or *de gente Syrorum*, ‘Syrian by ethnicity’.⁸ In addition, one also could describe oneself as *gentis Burgundionum*, for a barbarian people.⁹

One could express the same sense of ethnicity using the word *natio*, ‘nation’. Non-Roman foreigners could be identified, for example, as *natione Parthus* or *natione Armenius*; likewise for the peoples residing inside the empire: one could be *natione Libycus* or *natione Maurus*.¹⁰ This custom was especially common among the Celtic peoples of Gaul and Germany, who identified themselves, for example, as ‘by nationality Helvetian’, ‘by nationality Sequanian’, or ‘by nationality Nervian’.¹¹ Or, on the border, as ‘by nationality Ubian’, ‘by nationality Batavian’, ‘by nationality Frisian’, or, on the other side of the border, ‘by nationality Suevian’, ‘by nationality Getan’, or ‘by nationality Hermundur’.¹²

By extension, there also was a kind of ‘geographic nationality’ used by the inhabitants of the geographical regions in the Roman Empire. Thus, one could identify oneself, for example, as *natione Brittanus*, *natione Hispanus et Thrax*, *natione Gallus*, *natione Pannonius*, *natione Graecus*, and so on.¹³

In textual sources one finds the same kind of identifications, as seen c.490 in the *De viris illustribus* of Gennadius of Marseille, which mentions, for example, *Olympius*, *natione Hispanus*, *Vigilantius ... natione Gallus*, *Cassianus natione Scythia*, *Paulus ... natione ... Pannonius*, *Vincentius ... natione Gallus*, *Victorius natione Aquitanus*, *Cerealis episcopus*, *natione Afer*, and *Pomerius*, *natione Maurus*.¹⁴ These forms of identity were very inclusive, and covered Romans and non-Romans both.

⁶ For reasons of economy, the following study is limited to Latin terminology. Test soundings suggest that the same results obtain for the use of Greek terminology such as *genos*, *ethnos* and *politēs*.

⁷ *CIL* 2.4192.

⁸ *CIL* 8.7759

⁹ *CIL* 13.3682, “Hariulfus protector domesticus filius Hanhavalidi regalis gentis Burgundionum.”

¹⁰ *CIL* 6.8972; *AE* 1982 no. 82.

¹¹ *CIL* 6.32789; *CIL* 5.907; *CIL* 13.1056.

¹² *AE* (1929), no. 130; *CIL* 3.14403a (244 CE); *CIL* 13.8040; *CIL* 6.32806; *RIB* 136; *AE* (1900), no. 221.

¹³ *AE* (1939), no. 53 = *AE* (1948), no. 171 = *AE* (2004), no. 881; *AE* (1962), no. 51; *ICUR* 8.20819 = *ILCV* 266 (442 CE); *AE* (1954), no. 81; *AE* (1962), no. 46.

¹⁴ Gennad. *Vir.ill.* 18: *Tichonius natione Afer*, in *divinis litteris eruditus*; 23: *Olympius*, *natione Hispanus*; 35: *Vigilantius presbyter*, *natione Gallus*, *Hispaniae Barcelonensis parochiae ecclesiam tenuit*; 61: *Cassianus natione Scythia*,

Identification by Citizenship

This concept of geographical or ethnic identification overlapped with concepts of citizenship. Regional identity could be expressed also as regional citizenship, as when Sidonius Apollinaris suggested that citizenship could be defined on the basis of *locus*, that is, the geographic location.¹⁵ In this sense, during Late Antiquity, one could be described in epigraphical documents as a citizen of Africa, Mauretania, Spain, Pannonia, Thrace, Greece, Cappadocia, Bithynia or Syria.¹⁶

In addition, as with the *natio* form of identification, the concept of citizenship also was applied to ethnic designations. Thus one finds ‘citizens’ of the Germans, Arabs, Sequanians and Frisians.¹⁷ During Late Antiquity, one even encounters citizens of barbarian peoples, such as a *civis Alamanna*, that is, an ‘Alamannic citizen’,¹⁸ or a soldier buried near Budapest whose epitaph read, ‘I am a citizen of the Franks and a Roman soldier in arms.’¹⁹ The concept of ethnic citizenship also is found in literary sources, with citizens of Gaul and Africa, Italy and even the homoian debater Modaharius, a *civis Gothus*, or ‘citizen of the Goths’.²⁰ In this sense, citizenship has a generic rather than a legal connotation.

Geography and Ethnicity

In late antique popular culture, therefore, genres of identification evolved in such a manner that both Romans and foreigners customarily expressed personal identity through the use of different forms of regional and ethnic vocabulary that most

Constantinopoli a Joanne Magno episcopo diaconus ordinatus, apud Massiliam presbyter; 75: Paulus presbyter, natione ... Pannonius; 80: Vincentius presbyter, et ipse natione Gallus, in divinis Scripturis exercitatus ... ; 88: Victorius, homo natione Aquitanus, calculator scrupulosus; 96: Cerealis episcopus, natione Afer; 98: Pomerius, natione Maurus, in Gallia presbyter ordinatus.

¹⁵ Sid.Apoll. *Epist.* 3.5: *Ego vero tantum obstringar indultis, ac si meae proficiat peculiariter proprietati, quidquid meus aetate frater, professione filius, loco civis, fide amicus, acceperit.*

¹⁶ *AE* (1956), no. 251; *AE* (1990), no. 159 (c.5th century); *CIL* 6.9597 (388 CE); ; *CIL* 6.41342 = *ICUR* 13355 (389 CE); *CIL* 3.9515 = *ILCV* 185 (425 CE); *AE* (1941), no. 107 (220 CE); *CIL* 3.4220 (4th/5th century); ; *ICUR* 5.13397 (434 CE); ; *CIL* 3.3337 (3rd? century); *AE* (1923), no. 37 (4th/5th century)..

¹⁷ *AE* (2000), no. 1262; *AE* (1975), no. 121; *CIL* 13.1983 = *ILS* 8158; *RIB* 109.

¹⁸ *CIL* 11.1731 (423 CE).

¹⁹ *CIL* 11.3576 = *ILS* 2814.

²⁰ Sid.Apoll., *Epist.* 7.6.2–3: *Modaharium, civem Gothum, haereseos Arianae iacula vibrantem*; also Hydatius, *Chron.* 217, s.a. 462: *Agrippinus Gallus et comes et civis*; *ibid.* 173, s.a. 455: *In Galliis Avitus Gallus*; Greg.Tur. *Glor.conf.* 69.1: *Africanæ provinciae civis*; *Heraclidis Paradisus* 33 (PL 74.320): *Civis Italus ex Aquileiensi oppido.*

commonly were manifested in epigraphical sources. This form of identification is not easy to understand and has many complications.

One problem with this kind of identification is that sometimes it is not clear whether a reference to *natio* means a geographic region or an ethnicity. Thus, when, in an inscription from Cordova in Spain, a person is described as *natione Gallus*, is this a reference to the people, the Gauls, or to the region, Gallia?²¹ Likewise with *natione Arabus*: is this a reference to the people or to the Roman province of Arabia?²² And also with *natione Germanus*: the German people or the province of Germania?²³

Sometimes it seems that the use of geographic terms with the word *natio* must be ethnic, as seen, for example, in the case of Aurelius Aeliodurus, described as ‘by nationality a Greek, [and] a citizen of Tarsus [in] Cilicia’.²⁴ Presumably, because Tarsus is not in Greece, the word *Graecus* must have ethnic or cultural significance.

But in other cases, the word *natio* clearly had no ethnic sense.²⁵ It could be used, for example, to show residence in a city, a sort of ‘civic citizenship’, as ‘by nationality, an Alexandrian’,²⁶ or ‘by nationality, from Cologne’.²⁷ The word *natio* even could be used to describe ill-defined geographical locations, such as ‘by nationality, from the mountains’,²⁸ or ‘by nationality, from the other side of the river’, an apparent reference to the Tigris River.²⁹ And even ‘by nationality, a provincial’. The term *natio* also could be applied to homegrown slaves, as ‘by nationality, a *verna* or *vernacula*’.³⁰ The term *natio*, therefore, had a very wide range of meaning as a term used to describe personal identity.

²¹ *CIL* 2 (2nd ed.) 7.354.

²² *CIL* 12.3324. For the overlap between *provinciae* as places and *nationes* as peoples, see, e.g., Vegetius, *De re mil.* 1.2: *Rerum ordo deposcit, ut, ex quibus provinciis vel nationibus tirones legendi sint.*

²³ *CIL* 13.618.

²⁴ *AE* 1961, no. 331 (3rd/4th century): *Aur(elius) Aeliodorus natione / Greca civis Tarsus Cilicia.*

²⁵ For the late Roman Republic: Borg, ‘Gesicht’, 286–9, ‘mit *natio* nicht Ethnisches indiziert wird, sondern nur Ort bzw. Gegend von Herkunft.’

²⁶ Gennad. *Vir.ill.* 81: *Cyrus, natione Alexandrinus, arte medicus*; 19: *Severus presbyter, cognomento Sulpitius, Aquitanicae provinciae, vir genere et litteris nobilis.*

²⁷ *CIL* 6.36325.

²⁸ *CIL* 13.7684: *[F]irmus / Ecconis f(ilius) ... natione m/ontanus.*

²⁹ *AE* (1896), no. 21: *C(aius) Fabullius Macer optio classis praetor(iae) Misenatium III(triere) / Tigride emit puerum natione transfluminianum / nomine Abban quem Eutythen sive quo alio nomine / vocatur.*

³⁰ *CIL* 10.3646: *Nat(ione) verna Valerius / Fortunalis*; *CIL* 6.14208: *Calpurnia natio / ne vernacula.*

Geographical Stereotyping

In spite of – or perhaps in addition to – the geographical terminology, it would appear that the territorial designators that were linked with the concept of ‘natio’ – including generic regions, provinces, cities, particular kinds of terrain and even household environments – referred to more than just a physical location, and also had come to have associated with them certain cultural attributes and assumptions. Thus, someone described as a *Gallus* not only had some kind of connection to the place Gallia but also would be expected to behave in ways that one would expect someone from Gallia to behave. In this sense, these designators represented a form of manufactured ethnicity. Thus, a *Gallus* had no connection to the ‘Gauls’ of Julius Caesar but was simply ‘a person from Gaul’ who was pseudo-ethnically connected to other ‘people from Gaul’. Likewise for a person described as a ‘mountain man’ or someone from ‘down the river’. Or even for a household slave. All these varied kinds of geographical locations had particular kinds of cultural attributes and behaviors associated with them, attributes and behaviors that became part of a manufactured ethnicity based on regional identification.

Late antique examples of these kinds of stereotypes can be found in a work written around the year 400, the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, a description of the whole world, in which the characteristics of different regions, including the nature of their inhabitants, are briefly described. For example, Egypt had ‘noble men, who wonderfully worship the gods’; Thrace had ‘the greatest men, brave in war’; Gaul likewise had ‘brave and noble men’; Spain had ‘men learned in all kinds of businesses’; and Mauretania had ‘men [with the] life and customs of barbarians, but nevertheless subject to the Romans’.³¹ The use of such geographical designators, it thus would seem, was a means of expressing pride in a region where one had one’s origin or that one otherwise identified with. And in this regard, one cannot but notice that hardly anyone any longer manifested the same sense of pride in being a ‘Roman’.

Finally, with regard to personal identification, one can only speculate on how and by whom these geographical designators were selected. Most of the attested specific references come from epitaphs, and one must suppose that in nearly all such cases it was some person other than the person named who decided on what descriptive term or terms to use. It is unclear to what degree one had a free rein in choosing what kind of descriptive term to use, and to what degree the terminology

³¹ *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 58: *Galliam provinciam ... Omnis autem regio viros habet fortes et nobiles*; note also 34: *Habes ergo omnem Aegypti regionem ... viros similiter nobiles, deos colentes eminenter*; 45: *Partes propinquant mari ... Cilicia ... et Isauria, quae viros fortes habere dicitur, et latrocinia aliquando facere conati sunt*; 50: *Thracia provincia ... maximos habens viros et fortes in bello*; 59: *Spania, terra ... dives viris doctis in omnibus negotiis*; 60: *Invenies terram Mauritaniam. Homines barbarorum vitam et mores, tamen Romanis subditi*. Here, the words *pars*, *provincia*, *regio* and *terra* all are used to describe geographical regions of the empire.

was predetermined by an individual's past history. If a person was from Gaul, or even if his or her father, or mother, was from Gaul, did that mandate that the person be described as *Gallus* or *Galla*? Or could one change one's regional identity based on one's subsequent life experience? And what reasons lay behind the choice of the term *gens*, *natio* or *civis*? Only further study of larger numbers of cases might allow further light to be shed on these questions.

Administrative Geography

A second complication relates to how these geographical designators were related to the administrative geography of the Roman world during the late Roman Empire. And with respect to changing genres of personal identification, it is noteworthy that nearly all of the regions used with *gens*, *natio* and *civis* in Late Antiquity are not the names of the current Roman provinces.³² No, these regions are either provinces of the Republic or the early Principate or, as in the case of 'Italy' and 'Greece', never were provinces at all.³³ In addition, by the late empire many of the regions that had been provinces had acquired different statuses. Some became dioceses, such as Africa, Gaul, Spain and Italy in the west, and Dacia and Thrace in the east. Other provinces became divided into two provinces, as with the two Mauretaniae, two Noricum, two Rhaetiae and two Pannoniae in the west, and two Moesiae and two Cappadociae in the east. Only three regions remained as *bona fide* provinces: Africa in the west, and Bithynia and Syria in the east. 'Graecia' never was a province or diocese.

So, even if during the Principate allusions to the citizenship of a province or to provincial 'nationality' were associated with contemporary Roman provinces – and even that is by no means certain – it is clear that by the late empire these geographical signifiers of identity had nothing to do with actual late Roman provinces, and any associations with them will have become regional or cultural. Therefore, when someone was called a 'citizen' of Gaul, the reference was to a general geographic area and not to an administrative unit of the Roman Empire, that is, to a province or even to a diocese. Thus, if one was a 'citizen of Mauretania', for example, no distinction was made between Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Sitifensis. The important thing was the general geographical region, not the administrative unit. Therefore, one might suggest that the terms *gens*, *natio* and *civis* all demonstrate identity with a region of the Roman Empire, not with an

³² See Roueché, 'Asia Minor and Cyprus', 572: 'In so doing, they were using an elegant archaism, since the smaller provinces were largely based on older historical units, but the usage may also reveal something as to where their loyalties now lay.'

³³ For the provinces in the year 117 CE, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:RomanEmpire_117.svg (last accessed 19 July 2014).

administrative unit of the Roman Empire.³⁴ In this sense, personal identity was separated from legal identity. And thus, once again, this phenomenon would seem to suggest a dissociation of identity from the Roman Empire writ large.

The Legal Status of *provincialis*

A third question is whether this type of identity and citizenship had any administrative or legal significance in the empire, comparable to Roman citizenship or municipal citizenship. Legal sources do in fact refer to geographical identity. For example, in the Digest of Justinian, the jurist Ulpian spoke of the method for determining ‘Campanian’ or ‘Pontic’ regional identity: a person with two Campanian parents was legally ‘Campanian’.³⁵ No doubt this method also was used in other regions.³⁶ And, curiously, at this time Campania was not even a Roman province but merely a geographical region. This kind of geographical identity is very consistent with the forms used in the inscriptions. But what did it mean in a legal sense?

In late imperial legal sources, alongside Roman citizenship and municipal citizenship,³⁷ there also was a third, much less well known, legal status, that of *provincialis*.³⁸ There is, for example, a restriction against anyone serving in an administrative office ‘within that province, in which he is a *provincialis* and a *civis*’.³⁹ From the year 395 comes an even more specific reference to a ‘citizen of Lycia’.⁴⁰ Just what, one might ask, is this ‘provincial citizenship’ in a legal sense?

³⁴ Other terms, such as *origo* and *domicilium*, were not regularly used in epigraphic, literary or legal documents for designating specific places: *domicilium* simply meant where a person happened to be staying at a given time and was unrelated to municipal citizenship, and *origo* referred more to one’s legal status than place of origin. Also worth noting is that there also were other forms of identity proliferation in Late Antiquity, as by religious affiliation, e.g., ‘religione paganus’ (Marcell. *Chron.* s.a. 462, cf. Theodoret, *HE* 4.19); not to mention ‘citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem’ (Aug. *De civ.dei* 22.17).

³⁵ Dig. 50.1.1.2: *Qui ex duobus igitur Campanis parentibus natus est, Campanus est ... Celsus etiam refert Ponticis ex beneficio Pompeii Magni competere, ut qui Pontica matre natus esset, Ponticus esset.*

³⁶ Note, e.g., Dig. 4.6.28.4: *Si cum in provincia domicilium haberes, esses autem in urbe*; 5.1.19.4: *Si in provincia habuisti domicilium*; 5.1.51: *Qui domicilium in provincia habet*; and *passim*.

³⁷ CTh 15.1.42 (404 CE): *Eudoxiopolitanae civitatis cives pro oblata no [...] suam patriam ergasteria condonamus.*

³⁸ During the Principate, emperors related to provinces as if they had a collective identity: Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley, 2000), 313–19.

³⁹ CJ 9.29.3 (385): *Ne quis ... intellegat gerendae ... administrationis officium intra eam provinciam, in qua provincialis et civis habetur.*

⁴⁰ CTh 9.38.9 (396): *Devotissimae nobis provinciae Lyciae priorem famam meritumque inter ceteras renovari censemus, idque excellens eminentia tua edictis propositis cunctis faciat*

Many Roman laws were in fact addressed *Ad provinciales*, that is, ‘To the provincials’.⁴¹ Now, one might wonder here whether the term *provincialis* is an actual legal status or simply a generic term for all Romans. But, in fact, there was another term for ‘all Romans’, *populus*, as can be seen in the legislation addressed *Ad populum*, ‘To the people’.⁴² In addition, some laws were addressed specifically to the residents of a particular province, with or without the word *provinciales*. Thus, on the one hand, there are constitutions addressed ‘To the provincials of the province of Proconsularis’ or ‘To the provincials of Foenice’, and, on the other hand, laws sent ‘To the Africans’, or ‘To the Bithynians’.⁴³ Which likewise suggests that *provincialis* was not simply a synonym for *populus*. And finally, the distinction between *provinciales* and *populus* also is seen in situations where, to make it clear that everyone in the empire is meant, the two categories are cited together.⁴⁴ In all these regards, therefore, one might suggest that ‘provincialis’ was a bona fide legal status.

This hypothesis would seem to be confirmed by other laws, in which *provinciales* have a status different from that of residents of cities. For example, there are occasional references to *concilia provinciarum*, that is, ‘provincial councils’.⁴⁵ The responsibilities of such councils included forwarding to the emperor the *decreta provincialium*, or ‘provincial decrees’.⁴⁶ More specifically, the *provinciales* were responsible for providing *pecunia* rather than *annona* for the Roman army.⁴⁷ In addition, some laws demonstrate that *provinciales* had a different identity from that of citizens of cities, regarding, for example, (1) the providing of *munera*; (2) the appointment of *tabularii*, that is, imperial accountants; (3) the granting of *donationes*; (4) the time limits on *causae*, or legal cases; and (5) the procedures for

innotescere, ne quis posthac civem Lycium contumelioso nomine iniuriae audeat vulnerare.

⁴¹ For example, CTh 1.5.1, 1.16.6–7, 2.26.3, 2.30.1, 7.4.26, 7.9.1, 7.13.7–8, 7.13.16, 7.20.8; also 8.10.2, 11.8.3.1.

⁴² CTh 16.2.4 (321): *Ad populum*; CTh 9.9.1 (326): *Ad populum*; CTh 6.2.17 + 6.2.18 + 6.4.31 + 12.6.24 + 13.5.27 + 13.9.5 (397): *Ad senatum et populum*.

⁴³ CTh 7.4.26: *Idem AA. provincialibus provinciae Proconsularis*; CTh 3.12.1: *Imp. Constantius et Constans AA. ad provinciales Foenices*.⁴ Without *provinciales*: CTh 9.34.5: *Imp. Constantius A. ad Afros*; CTh 10.7.1: *Imp. Constantinus A. ad Bithynos*; CTh 12.1.5 (317): *Idem A. ad Bithynos*; CTh 12.1.59: *Idem AA. ad Byzacenos*; CTh 8.4.2: *Idem A. edicto suo ad Afros*.

⁴⁴ CTh 15.14.5 (352): *Ad universos provinciales et populum*; Nov.Theo.2.1,3 (427): *Subiectis et provinciis et populis ... et provincialibus et populis orientalibus cavenda observandaque*.

⁴⁵ CTh 11.30.15 (329): *Ad concilium provinciae Africae*; CTh 2.19.3 (332): *Ad concilium Byzacenorum*; CTh 4.10.1 (332): *Ad concilium Byzacenorum*; CTh 12.5.2 (337): *Ad concilium provinciae Africae*.

⁴⁶ CTh 1.16.2 (317): *Decreta provincialium non prius ad comitatum perferri oportet...*»

⁴⁷ CTh 7.4.1 (325): *Hinc enim fit, ut a provincialibus non annonas, sed pecunias postulent*.

pursuing petitions.⁴⁸ In all these respects, cities and provinces acted independently of each other.

It seems, therefore, that in late Roman imperial law, the status of *provincialis* or even ‘citizen of a province’ was a true legal status that existed at the same time as the much more well-known and better-attested statuses of Roman citizen and municipal citizen. But it also would appear that the legal status of *provincialis*, based on contemporary late Roman provincial units, was completely dissociated from the popular use of geographical areas to establish personal identity.

Indeed, in the popular mentality it would appear that even the word ‘province’ was losing its association with Roman administrative units. One sees examples of this, again, in the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, where the terms *provincia*, *regio*, *terra* and *pars* are used interchangeably to describe different regions of the empire.⁴⁹ Sometimes these areas had been provinces in the past, sometimes not. But there was no connection with contemporary administrative provinces. *Provincia* was just one more descriptive word in one’s arsenal of geographical designators.

One might suggest, finally, that these shifting genres of regional identity, with their local, ethnic and foreign manifestations, coupled with their increased use in epigraphical sources that were available to large numbers of persons, represent a sense of local identity that became increasingly important during Late Antiquity and was but one more manifestation of the centrifugal forces of localism that contributed to the fall of the empire in the west.

⁴⁸ CTh 3.1.8 (399): *Munera civitatis provinciarumque*; cf. CTh 7.13.16 (406): *Provincialibus ... licet ingenuos amore patriae credamus incitari*; CTh 7.13.17 (406): *Provincialibus. provinciales pro imminentibus necessitatibus omnes invitamus edicto ... qui militiae obtentu arma capiunt amore pacis et patriae*; 8.2.5: *Munera civitatis provinciarumque*; 8.12.3 (316): *Donantes extra patriam et provinciam, in qua possident* (here *patria* refers to municipal citizenship); 11.30.63 (405): *Vel in ea civitate seu provincia qua degetis sive in proximis atque contiguis provinciis*; 12.12.11 (386): *Si quis vel civitatis vel provinciae vel corporis alicuius ita prosequi desideria voluerit*; note also 1.16.2 (317); 4.13.5 (358); 7.4.26 (401); 7.4.1 (325); 3.1.8 (399); 6.29.5 (359); 8.12.8 (415).

⁴⁹ As in n. 30 above.

PART VI

Other Literary Genres

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Chapter 20

The Rhetoric of *Varietas* and Epistolary Encyclopedism in the *Variae* of Cassiodorus

Shane Bjornlie

In keeping with the volume's theme of 'genre', this chapter will examine how the digressive content of the *Variae* represents Cassiodorus' reception and unique adaptation of a tradition for encyclopedic exposition. This chapter considers how the concept of *varietas*, especially as presented in the two prefaces of the *Variae*, derives from a long tradition for encyclopedic treatises and sympotic dialogues in ancient and late antique literature. The *varietas* of this 'genre' performed a specific rhetorical function by acting as an organizational principle for knowledge and by communicating the attachment of the text to a particular moral authority associated with encyclopedic knowledge. The *varietas* of encyclopedic exposition was a discursive performance of knowledge that claimed to be holistic and didactic. Rather than a mere stylistic habit, *varietas* was a mode of envisioning universality and a harmonious natural (and political) order. Cassiodorus' importation of this tradition into epistolary form relates to specific political and cultural circumstances of the sixth century. This challenges some assumptions about the value of the *Variae* as purely documentary witnesses to the Gothic government of Italy. As this chapter will argue, Cassiodorus' two prefaces to the *Variae* signal his intention to appeal to an audience's understanding of the cultural function of epistolary and encyclopedic writing. Whatever the historical context of the original letters, the subsequent collection known as the *Variae* should be understood as a rhetorical literary enterprise.

Introduction

Sometime after 538, in the tumultuous circumstances of Justinian's Gothic War, Cassiodorus assembled a collection of letters that he had originally composed at the Gothic chancery of Ravenna in the capacity of three palatine offices (*quaestor*, *magister officiorum*, *praefectus praetorio Italiae*).¹ These letters variously address eastern emperors, kings of the former western Roman provinces, the Senate and high officials assigned to govern throughout Italy, citizens of individual cities and provinces, civilians contracted to provide services for the state, petitioners

¹ On Cassiodorus, J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley, 1979).

seeking legal redress, and individuals thought to deserve official censure. In other words, the *Variae* provide a seemingly complete profile for the matters that occupied the attention of the Gothic rulers of Italy and of the officials through whom they governed. Given the military conflict and political turmoil in which Cassiodorus published the collection, it is understandable that the collection aimed at an idealized presentation of state service by which the nature of collusion between Italians and Goths would be understood.² Close inspection of the internal dynamics of the *Variae* have provided a firm basis for understanding Cassiodorus' letters as a programmatic enterprise.³ The present study will examine how the *Variae* combined precepts of epistolary writing with another well-developed literary tradition – that of encyclopedic exposition. As will be explored below, the rhetoric of epistolary and encyclopedic writing was complementary and served a common purpose in the *Variae*.

Epistolarity and Encylopedism in the Prefaces of the *Variae*

Recent scholarship has noted the tendency of classical and late antique letter collections to broadcast a communal identity that was idealized by the *amicitia* that animated the exchange of letters.⁴ The collections of Pliny the Younger and Sidonius Apollinaris, for example, were well known to subsequent epistolary audiences and part of the reputation achieved by such collections should be understood in terms of the sense of the community, moral consensus and collaboration between interlocutors that the collections preserved. The *Variae*, however, are different from other collections in several important respects. Chief among these differences, the *Variae* did not concern the private lives of members of a community, but rather demonstrated a collaborative, bureaucratic community engaged in public life. This difference required explanation for an audience conditioned by centuries of epistolary writing that had privileged the portrayal of private lives. By compiling a collection of administrative letters, where governmental mandate might be assumed to eclipse the purpose of the author, Cassiodorus risked diluting the agency of *amicitia* that was so fundamental to other letter collections. It was through expressions of *amicitia*, refracted across multiple letters, that the audience of a collection understood the activities of an

² See S. Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople: A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527–554* (Cambridge, 2013).

³ For example, S. Bjornlie, 'What Have Elephants to Do with Sixth-Century Politics?', *JLA* 2.1 (2009), 143–71.

⁴ On the production of community in letter collections, J. Ebbeler, 'Tradition, Innovation, and Epistolary Mores', in P. Rousseau, ed., *A Companion to Late Antiquity* (Chichester, 2009), 270–84.

epistolary community to be governed by consensus and the normative mores displayed in the collection.⁵

The group cohesion immediately visible in a collection of private letters to friends and associates is less readily detectable in a collection of dispositive letters such as the *Variae*, where the intimacy of *amicitia* has been replaced with governmental and legal authority. It is for this reason that Cassiodorus composed two lengthy prefaces for his collection (preceding the letters of Book 1 and Book 11). Such a gesture was yet another departure from the epistolary tradition, where previous collections typically explained themselves through a brief letter of the author to the friend who had requested the collection.⁶ Elaborating on this theme, Cassiodorus opened his first preface by recapitulating a dialogue between himself and certain colleagues who had insisted that he publish his letters.⁷ The preface expresses Cassiodorus' hesitation to publish because the demands of state service had removed any opportunity to observe an appropriately decorous style, for which Cassiodorus feared damage to his reputation.⁸ The second preface returns to this theme, noting how far removed Cassiodorus had been from the elite *otium* that was the setting native to composing letters.⁹ According to Cassiodorus, only those likewise entangled in state service would appreciate his collection.¹⁰ Cassiodorus agreed to publish the *Variae*, at risk to his own reputation, so that others might witness the probity of the culture that bound him to his associates in state service.¹¹ Thus the prefaces served to carefully construct the image of a professional community bound by traditional ties of *amicitia* that were otherwise unobservable in individual letters.

Importantly, although the first preface describes a dialogue common to the traditional language of *amicitia*, Cassiodorus referred to his professional associates more specifically as *diserti* and *prudentes*, men with learned

⁵ S. Bjornlie, 'Amicitia in the Epistolary Tradition', in K. Mustakallio and C. Krötzel, eds, *De Amicitia: Friendship and Social Networks in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Rome, 2010), 136–42.

⁶ For example, Plin. *Ep.* 1.1 and Sid. *Ap. Ep.* 1.1, 8.1.

⁷ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 1–11.

⁸ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 2, *Dicebam delectionem ipsorum mihi potius fore contrarium, ut, quod modo propter desideria supplicantium putabatur acceptum, postea legentibus videretur insubidum.*

⁹ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 11.1, *quia quod constat otiosos debere, nemo potest occupatos exigere.*

¹⁰ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 11.2, *Verum hoc mihi obicere poterit otiosus, si verbum improvida celeritate proieci ... occupatus autem, qui rapitur diversitate causarum, cui iugiter incumbit responsum reddere et alteri expedienda dictare, non me addicere poterit, qui se in talibus periclitatum esse cognoscit.*

¹¹ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 1, *pro generalitatis commodo sustinebam, et sinceris conscientiae inemptam dinosceret actionem.*

and refined backgrounds.¹² These references to the intellectual erudition of Cassiodorus' associates are complementary to the display of shared community imparted by emphasis on *amicitia*. Where *amicitia* provided the social cohesion that allowed Pliny or Sidonius to share a set of cultural attitudes with others of like mind, the *disertio* and *prudentia* of Cassiodorus' interlocutors suggests that the culture that they shared in common was an erudition engendered through learned discussion. The presence of encyclopedic digressions scattered throughout the collection reinforce this as a primary feature of the collective community. As Cassiodorus explained it, he owed much to conversations shared with associates whose collaboration preserved a particular intellectual culture.¹³ One of the more active agents of that learned circle was a certain Felix addressed in the second preface, 'that most wise man whose advice I share in every matter.'¹⁴ This may be the same Memor Felix who, in 534, had emended a copy of Martianus Capella's encyclopedic work, *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*.¹⁵ In the subscript of a manuscript of Horace's *Epodes*, which he also edited, this Felix is noted as *comes consistorianus*, an office that would have worked closely with Cassiodorus who, at the time, directed the praetorian prefecture. Felix's interest in the encyclopedic work of Martianus Capella at precisely the time that Ravenna's relations with Constantinople began to founder likely had some influence upon Cassiodorus' importation of encyclopedic material into the *Variae*. Encyclopedic literature had a long association with the portrayal of communal learning and shared ethical virtues in classical literature. This shared intellectual culture described in the preface of the *Variae* was concerned with the moral presentation of the Italian bureaucratic elite.

Cassiodorus' interest in encyclopedic literature is illuminated further by the explanation of the collection's title. In the first preface, Cassiodorus indicated that he supplied a name that corresponded to the *varietas* of the material contained within the collection. The title *Variae* was emblematic for the nature of the text, 'a token for the endeavor, a precursor of the contents, and a name condensed for the entire composition.'¹⁶ Cassiodorus followed a lively tradition by which authors of encyclopedic works supplied titles that encapsulated the *varietas* of a complex conceptual landscape with a kind of thematic unity (as found, for example, in titles like *Musae*, *Silvae*, *Lectiones*, *Prati*, *Noctes*).¹⁷ Titles such as

¹² Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 1.1, *disertorum gratiam*; *praef.* 1.12, *tantis prudentibus*; *praef.* 11.7, *amici*.

¹³ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 1.1, *Cum disertorum gratiam aut communibus fabulis aut gratuitis beneficiis ... collegissem*.

¹⁴ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 11.4, *accipiat viri prudentissimi Felicis praesumptione factum, cuius participatus sum in omni causa consilium*.

¹⁵ PLRE III, 'Securus Memor Felix', 481.

¹⁶ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 1.15, *Librorum vero titulum, operis indicem, causarum praeconem, totius orationis brevissimam vocem, variarum nomine prae-notavi ...*

¹⁷ Cf. Plin. *HN, praef.* 14, 23; Aul. Gell. *Att. Noct. praef.* 3–10.

these subordinated particularity and variety to a collective concept for the whole. Cassiodorus noted how the *diversitas causarum* of the material would provide the collection with unity and make it suitable to instruct the audience.¹⁸ This particular parallel between variety of material and authorial purpose echoes Quintilian's discussion of the rhetorical purpose of *varietas*.¹⁹ Indeed, Cassiodorus later conflates *diversitas* and *varietas* as a general concept important to understanding the style and compositional structure of the collection.²⁰ In the second preface, Cassiodorus again intimated a deeper meaning for *varietas* where he noted that the letters of the collection had been informed by his own diverse reading, which he described as 'a granary, a treasury and a blossom of studies.'²¹ Like grains heaped in a granary or coins in a treasury, this cluster of metaphors speaks to the concept of the heterogeneity of a whole that only enjoyed full integrity when constituted together. Like earlier encyclopedic authors, who also claimed to have constituted their collections from varied reading, Cassiodorus thought of his collection both in terms of the diversity of topics contained within and the unity achieved through their discursive representation.²²

Cassiodorus intended that his audience should likewise find the unity formed by *varietas* in careful and comprehensive reading, which would allow the audience to appreciate how the various 'topographical' features of the conceptual landscape related one to another. In connection with the choice of title, Cassiodorus explained that he had arranged the collection, 'so that, although the attention of the reader is hastened along by the diversity of the subject matter, nevertheless, understanding is secured when it reaches the end.'²³ Cassiodorus plainly made the connection between the variety of material and the overall programmatic effect of reading the work as a whole. Interestingly, Aelian had made a similar claim while describing his use of *to poikilon* (the Greek expression for *varietas*) in arranging the topics of his *De natura animalium*.²⁴ It was expected that the reader should detect thematic

¹⁸ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 1.13, *ut quamquam diversitate causarum legentis intention concitetur, efficacius tamen rapiatur animus, cum tendit ad terminum.*

¹⁹ Quint. *Inst.* 1.12.4, *Cum praesertim reficiat animos ac reparet varietas ipsa, contraque sit aliquanto difficilior in labore uno perseverare*; similarly, *Inst.* 8.3.52, 9.1.21, 10.1.58, 11.1.41.

²⁰ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 1.16–17, *ut varietas personarum congruum sortiretur eloquium et, licet ab uno pectore proflueret, diversis tamen alveis emanaret ... ut merito variorum dicatur, quod tanta diversitate conficitur.*

²¹ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 11.8–9, *Aegrescit profecto ingenium, nisi iugi lectione reparetur. Cito expenduntur horrea, quae assidua non fuerint adiectione fulcita. Thesaurus ipse quam facile profunditur, si nullis iterum pecuniis compleatur. Sic humanus sensus, cum alieno non farcitur invento, cito potest attenuari de proprio. Si quid autem in nobis redolet, studiorum est ...*

²² Aul. Gell. *Att. Noct. praef.* 2; Macrobius. *Sat. praef.* 2–3.

²³ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 1.13, cit. n. 18.

²⁴ Ael. *NA epilogue*, 'I was aiming to attract through the variety [*to poikilon*] of my reading matter', trans. A. Scholfield, LCL, vol. 3, 389.

patterns in the *varietas* of the collection. In short, *varietas* was not merely variety, but variety with programmatic purpose.

This *varietas* appears in the form of encyclopedic topics inserted with seeming randomness throughout the letters of Cassiodorus' collection.²⁵ Each book of the collection includes a number of letters in which the main theme has become an opportunity to digress in an extended disquisition, often pertaining to the liberal arts and natural history, the mainstay of classical sympotic and miscellanistic literature. Additionally, a multitude of smaller 'citations' (etymologies and allusions to literature) contribute to the fabric of a sustained presentation of encyclopedic knowledge. The overall pattern has a cumulative effect on the reading of the *Variae*. The diversity of the material represents, *pars pro toto*, a kind of intellectual universality for the political elite who served with Cassiodorus. The inclusion of digressive material was often unrelated to the status of the recipient or the particularity of the letter's occasion. For example, Cassiodorus addressed letters 12.24 and 12.25 to the same subject of arranging the transportation of various goods to Ravenna. In the first letter, addressed to a shipping agent (*tribunus maritimorum*), Cassiodorus inserted a disquisition on the geographical charms and advantages of the region of the Venetii, surely a rare literary treat for a middling functionary. In the second letter to a man of *illustris* rank, Cassiodorus declaimed at equal length on the variability of weather, including its ramifications in law and cosmology. The fact that, in letters written for the same occasion, Cassiodorus managed to compose entirely different disquisitions of equal quality and for recipients of vastly different standing in the hierarchy of state service implies that these letters received more attention than admitted in the first preface of the *Variae*. Furthermore, Cassiodorus addressed letters containing elaborate disquisitions to persons otherwise already enrolled in state service who would presumably not have needed such cultivated encouragement. It would therefore seem that the logic of how and when Cassiodorus included digressive material depended more on the programmatic nature of the encyclopedic tradition than on criteria internal to individual letters.

***Enkyklios Paideia* and *Varietas* as a Tradition**

The expectation that an ancient audience should read a tessellated text like the *Variae* as a kind of narrative performance is actually not unusual. A tradition for compiling assemblages of comprehensive knowledge (*enkyklios paideia*) is visible in a startling range of literary works: serial treatises addressed to discrete topics which were collectively comprehensive, such as produced by Varro; miscellanies with varying degrees of thematic organization that range widely in formal structure, from Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* to the *Anthologion* of John Stobaeus; and

²⁵ Also in this volume on encyclopedic digressions, see Chapter 15, E. Turquois, 'Technical Writing, Genre and Aesthetic in Procopius'.

sympotic dialogues written by authors such as Plutarch, Athenaeus and Macrobius. Scholarship has noted a number of stable features within this range of writing, including the paradoxical tendency of encyclopedic literature to portray universal comprehensiveness using the disorderly deployment of fragments of knowledge.²⁶ Studies have also noted that the *pars pro toto* representation of universal knowledge found in encyclopedic works often corresponded to assumptions about the world as a moral system.²⁷ Even a cursory examination of this encyclopedic tradition suggests that disorganized variousness is a sustained stylistic habit in a body of literature with an impressive range of formal structure. This suggests that the discursive habit had acquired a particular hermeneutic meaning that authors sought to appropriate in literary works of widely ranging structure.²⁸ Comparing works by authors as diverse as Pliny the Elder, Aulus Gellius, Aelian or Isidore of Seville, it appears that a habit of discursive variation in topics (what Quintilian called *varietas* in relation to rhetoric and what Cassiodorus initially described in his first preface as *diversitas causarum*) was the most stable element within a tradition for encyclopedic writing that was itself highly variable.

Varietas had *auctoritas* based in part on its collective nature, and also in part on the presumed moral authority of *antiquitas*.²⁹ Authors of most genres regularly framed or punctuated works with the pronouncements of predecessors, reflecting a deep-seated intellectual current that accepted texts from ‘antiquity’ as links to a fundamentally more pristine source of truth. Knowledge reported from the past was received as pronouncements of *antiqui*, *maiores* or *veteres*, abstract concepts for received collective wisdom. The literary habit of excerpting bits and pieces of material from earlier authorities, and allocating those fragments in an arrangement framed by newer commentary, was a well-rehearsed practice by which an author substantiated his own authority.³⁰ The pronounced association between *antiquitas* and moral authoritativeness encouraged the habit of excerpting from multiple authorities, which naturally lent itself to a fragmented and discursive compositional structure. Particularly in encyclopedic works that sought to represent truly *enkyklios paideia*, the aggregation of material from a plenitude of sources not only predisposed a text to a tessellated structure, but that structure became

²⁶ N. Lozovsky, ‘The Earth is Our Book’: Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West, ca. 400–1000 (Ann Arbor, 2000); S. Carey, *Pliny’s Catalogue of Culture* (Oxford, 2003); J. König and T. Whitmarsh, eds, *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2007).

²⁷ I. Hadot, ‘Greek Philosophy and Encyclopedic Knowledge’, *Diogenes* 178 (1997), 33–47.

²⁸ M. Carruthers, ‘*Varietas*: A Word of Many Colours’, *Poetica* 41 (2009), 11–32.

²⁹ On the moral authority of *antiquitas*, R. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1988), 180–89.

³⁰ Y. Too, ‘The Walking Library: The Performance of Cultural Memories’, in D. Braund and J. Wilkins, eds, *Athenaeus and His World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire* (Exeter, 2000), 111–23; C. Chin, *Grammar and Christianity in the Late Roman World* (Philadelphia, 2008), 20–35.

a performance of the author's mastery of the antique tradition. The discursive *varietas* of such works signified attachment to a greater conceptual totality and to the greater moral authority embedded in *antiquitas*. In sum, encyclopedic writing was a sophisticated linguistic performance in which words and ideas excerpted from ancient authors attempted to instantiate the sum of knowledge that was the ethical dimension of the world. The randomness of selected *exempla* found in encyclopedic literature was meant to represent the exercise of the author's discernment and mastery of antique lore, performed in text, as it reconstituted comprehensive knowledge for the audience.

The discursive quality of *varietas* can also be explained by the importance of maintaining a natural quality of presentation, one that avoided, for example, the artificiality of a systematic presentation of knowledge. Encyclopedic writing often sought to achieve a certain organic truth by avoiding systematic arrangement. Some authors of 'miscellanistic' treatises such as Aulus Gellius claimed to have assembled material as it came to hand, with the result that text patterned the seemingly limitless variability of culture and natural world.³¹ Even authors such as Pliny the Elder and Isidore of Seville, who organized their works with some measure of conceptual scaffolding, nonetheless maintained a discursive, disconnected quality in moving from one topic to the next, such that only the author's commentary provided the reader with connective tissue to relate topics, not systematic principles that dictated the inclusion of topics in particular categories. The represented randomness of the natural, sensible world was intended to correspond to an interior, intelligible harmony.³² By mapping the variability of the natural world, text suggested the mystery of the metaphysical world. The diversity of encyclopedic writing suggested moral order and totality. At once quotidian and profound, *varietas* had the potential to represent the totality of the moral, political and natural world.

Cassiodorus in a Contemporary Culture of Encyclopedic Literature

Varietas appears as a literary tradition from classical antiquity to the Middle Ages and it is only natural that Cassiodorus' generation had a lively engagement with encyclopedic writing. The intellectual culture of the later-fifth and sixth centuries was self-consciously indebted to a tradition for assembling knowledge that had been sustained since earliest antiquity.³³ One indication of continued interest in

³¹ For example, Aul. Gell. *Att. Noct. praef.* 2.

³² T. Murphy, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia* (Oxford, 2004), 38–40, 49–73; J. Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words* (Cambridge, 2007), 5–7.

³³ See G. Cavallo, 'La Cultura a Ravenna tra Corte e Chiesa', in O. Capitani, ed., *Le Sedi della Cultura nell'Emilia Romagna: L'Alto Medioevo* (Milan, 1983), 29–51; L. Ruggini, 'Graduatorie fra *Uttillimae Artes* e *Saperi Scientifici Aristocratici* nell'Italia

this tradition was the copying of earlier encyclopedic writers, such as Martianus Capella who, as previously noted, became a subject of interest for Cassiodorus' associate, Memor Felix. The *De nuptiis* depicts a wedding ceremony between Mercury and the divine personification of Philology, attended by the traditional pantheon of gods and goddesses. The gift-bearing guests are personifications of seven liberal arts, each of whom recites a treatise detailing the attributes of her respective discipline. As such, Martianus' text became a paradigmatic expression for the disciplines that would impart *enkyklios paideia*. Although the text does not employ the same discursive habit as Athenaeus or Aulus Gellius, it does represent a continued interest in conceptualizing categories of knowledge as a totality. The *De nuptiis*, dependent as it is upon the works of Varro, also represents continued interest in maintaining connection with an established tradition for conceptualizing world knowledge.³⁴

Cassiodorus knew another person intimate with the court at Ravenna who maintained an avid interest in encyclopedic literature. Three letters of the *Variae* (2.1–3) discuss the elevation of another Felix to the consulship in 511. In the course of describing this Felix's qualifications, Cassiodorus noted that his father was a reader of Greek natural histories and a commentator of the *artes liberales*, two types of literature indebted to the tradition for encyclopedic writing.³⁵ Additionally, Theoderic's court physician, Helpidius, was probably the same *comes consistorianus* who at Ravenna produced an abbreviated version of Valerius' *Memorabilia*, a highly discursive collection of moral anecdotes which may have owed some inspiration to Varro's *Antiquitates*.³⁶ A similar interest at Rome likely inspired the senator Symmachus to edit a copy of Macrobius' *In somnium*, a text that enjoyed association with Macrobius' encyclopedic *Saturnalia*.³⁷ The *Saturnalia* depicts a traditional sympotic dialogue, a format similar to Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists*, but with a range of material more heavily indebted to Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights*. The text, now incomplete, presents a miscellany of antiquarianism, beginning with the Roman calendar and traditional (non-Christian) religion and progressing to the main topic, a celebration of Virgil and exposition of the poet's suitability as a symbol of antique lore. The last book returns to philosophy and science and contains a speculative discussion of diet,

di Cassiodoro', in S. Leanza, ed., *Atti della Settimana di Studi su Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro* (Soveria Mannelli, 1986), 73–6.

³⁴ Hadot, *Arts Libéraux et Philosophie dans la Pensée Antique* (Paris, 1984), 101–214; Lozovsky, *The Earth is Our Book*, 23–8; D. Shanzer, 'Augustine's Disciplines: *Silent diutius Musae Varronis?*', in K. Pollmann and M. Vessey, eds, *Augustine and the Disciplines: From Cassiciacum to Confessions* (Oxford, 2007), 69–112.

³⁵ Cassiod., *Var.* 2.3.3–4, *Litterarum quippe studiis dedicatus perpetuum doctissimis disciplinis mancipavit aetatem ... Vehemens disputator in libris ... Rerum quoque naturalium causas subtilissime perscrutatus Cecropii dogmatis Attico se melle saginavit.*

³⁶ P. Riché, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West from the Sixth through the Eighth Century* (Columbia, 1976), 26.

³⁷ Riché, *Education and Culture*, 49.

gender, physiology and medicine. For Macrobius, eclectic breadth was the virtue of the dialogue, demonstrating as it did how the accumulated lore of the ancients facilitated communal learning and interaction.

The presence in sixth-century Italy of an anonymous text called the *Physiologus* also points to sustained interest in encyclopedic works. Probably originating sometime between the second and fourth centuries, the *Physiologus* comprises 51 individual treatments of animals, plants, minerals and mythic creatures. The treatment of these topics leans toward the exegetical, with clear interest in comparing sensible form to intelligible meaning. Of particular interest, the bishop of Rome, Gelasius (492–96), condemned a Latin version of the text for ‘heretical’ content in the *Decretum Gelasianum*, suggesting that encyclopedic writing in Cassiodorus’ generation had the potential to become polemical.³⁸

Cassiodorus’ generation also produced a number of its own contributions to the tradition for encyclopedic writing. The otherwise obscure Johannes Stobaeus compiled in four books an anthology of excerpts from earlier Greek philosophy, poetry, scientific thought and ethics sometime in the latter portion of the fifth century.³⁹ Stobaeus’ chapter headings combine an Aristotelian plenitude of topics concerning science and ethics with a particularly Christian perspective. In compiling the *Anthologion*, Stobaeus self-consciously followed an established habit for constituting *enkyklios paideia* with fragments of knowledge captured in earlier sources.⁴⁰ In the early sixth century, Fulgentius composed a collection of eclectic compendia, including a treatment of mythological allegories (*Mythologiae*), an *ars* of obsolete antique words (*Expositio sermonum antiquorum*) and a chronology of the ages of mankind (*De aetatibus mundi et hominis*).⁴¹ The programmatic nature of his combined compendia seems analogous to Varro’s works, and Fulgentius’ *Mythologiae* cite Varro’s *De lingua Latina*.⁴²

The clearest indication of attachment to a tradition for encyclopedic compilation in the sixth century comes from Cassiodorus himself. Shortly after completing his *Variae*, Cassiodorus began the *Expositio Psalmorum*, a mammoth exegesis of the *Psalms*.⁴³ The *Expositio* assumed text was *pars pro toto* for an earthly landscape that was divinely encoded with higher moral meaning.⁴⁴ Throughout the *Expositio*, Cassiodorus acknowledged the organizational role that *varietas*

³⁸ F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* (Strassburg, 1889), 88–99; M. Curley, *Physiologus* (1979), ix–xvi.

³⁹ On Stobaeus, Phot. *Bibl.* 167; R. Piccione, ‘Encyclopédisme et *Enkyklios Paideia*? À propos de Jean Stobée et de l’*Anthologion*’, *Philosophie Antique* 2 (2002), 169–97; G. Reydam-Schils, ed., *Thinking through Excerpts: Studies on Stobaeus* (Turnhout, 2011).

⁴⁰ Piccione, ‘Encyclopédisme’, 169–97.

⁴¹ On Fulgentius, R. Edwards, ‘Fulgentius and the Collapse of Meaning’, *Helios* 4 (1976), 17–35; B. Baldwin, ‘Fulgentius and His Sources’, *Traditio* 44 (1988), 37–57.

⁴² Whitbread, *Fulgentius the Mythographer* (Columbus, 1971), 15–21.

⁴³ On the *Expositio*, O’Donnell, *Cassiodorus*, 131–76.

⁴⁴ Cassiod. *Exp. Ps.* 144.21, *quod dictum constat per figuram synecdoche, id est a parte totum*.

played in articulating the unity (*varietas unitatis*) of divine purpose.⁴⁵ Later, in retirement on his family estate (Vivarium), Cassiodorus compiled the *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*, a text that demonstrates his continued interest in formulating a unity for knowledge as constituted by an authoritative tradition.⁴⁶ Cassiodorus divided the *Institutiones* into two books, the first consisting of 33 chapters pertaining to Christian learning and the second containing seven chapters dedicated to the secular arts. The material pertaining to the topic of each chapter is quite meager. Rather than offer a detailed study, Cassiodorus' intent seems to have been to sketch an outline of the topic and, more importantly, to provide references to those readings essential for further study.⁴⁷ In essence, the *Institutiones* provided bibliographical paths to comprehensive knowledge in two complementary traditions, those of classical and Christian learning. At one level, the text invokes the encyclopedism of Varro's *Antiquitates* by its division into matters secular and divine and indeed Cassiodorus ensured that Varro's voice was known in the *Institutiones*.⁴⁸

It also appears that any inspiration that the *Institutiones* may have received from Varro was carefully mediated by Augustine. Among the most learned of works produced in antiquity, Augustine's *De civitate Dei* was a serial denunciation of the presumption that secular literature held priority as a path to ethical virtue. Augustine had staged this attack by challenging the iconic sages of the classical literary tradition. It is in this context that *De civitate* offered a studied critique of the cultural authority of Varro. Interestingly, Augustine did not dispute the basic premise that *varietas* was a means of mapping a conceptual totality for the world.⁴⁹ In his *De doctrina Christiana*, Augustine had explicitly advocated an encyclopedic study of the diversity of the natural world as a means of accessing knowledge of God.⁵⁰ Clearly the classical style for presenting encyclopedic learning had impressed Augustine, as in the case of Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*, which Augustine admired.⁵¹ Augustine's intimate familiarity with the works of Varro, particularly the *Antiquitates* with which Augustine maintained a nearly continuous dialogue in the first five books of *De civitate*, was likewise a testament to the cultural authority

⁴⁵ Cassiod. *Exp. Ps.* 44.10, *Sed hic varietatem, aut linguas multiplices significat, quia omnis gens secundum suam patriam in Ecclesia psallit auctori; aut virtutum pulcherrimam diversitatem. Ornatur enim auro apostolorum, argento prophetarum, gemmis virginum, cocco martyrum, purpura paenitentium. Ista est ergo varietas unitatis ...*

⁴⁶ On the *Institutiones*, M. Vessey, *Cassiodorus: Institutions of Divine and Secular Learning; On the Soul* (Liverpool, 2004), 22–97.

⁴⁷ Cassiod. *Inst. praef.* 1.1, *ad hoc divina caritat e probor esse compulsus, ut ad vicem magistri introductorios vobis libros istos domino praestante conficerem.*

⁴⁸ Cassiod. *Inst.* 2.4, 2.2.17, 2.3.2, 2.5.8, 2.6.1, 2.7.2, 2.7.4.

⁴⁹ G. Clark, 'City of Books: Augustine and the World as Text', in W. Klingshirn and L. Safran, eds, *The Early Christian Book* (Washington, DC, 2007), 117–38.

⁵⁰ August. *De doct. Christ.* 2.141.

⁵¹ August. *De civ. D.* 9.4.

of the encyclopedic knowledge upon which Varro's reputation was based.⁵² Augustine explained the *auctoritas* that Varro enjoyed among later Roman writers by acknowledging the plenitude of his learning. Where Varro and subsequent generations indebted to Varro's *auctoritas* erred, in Augustine's view, was in how Varro had prioritized categories which cumulatively represented *enkyklios paideia*. Augustine noted that the chief flaw of Varro's *Antiquitates* was in granting primacy to matters human as opposed to divine. According to Augustine, Varro's arrangement of topics assumed that matters of religion proceeded from human affairs, indicating a flawed simulation of the world through topics of knowledge.⁵³ The *De civitate* resisted deeply entrenched conceptual categories that had remained uninflected by a Christian orientation. His contestation of Varro was not a rejection of the encyclopedic tradition per se, but rather it was an attempt to appropriate the relationship between text and comprehensive knowledge to a Christian system for generating meaning. It is clear from the *Institutiones* that Cassiodorus was aware of the *De civitate* and Augustine's criticism of Varro probably influenced Cassiodorus' own arrangement of topics in the *Institutiones*, where divine learning received both priority and the bulk of attention.⁵⁴

Cassiodorus' engagement with the encyclopedic tradition, as represented in the *Institutiones*, was also informed by Clement of Alexandria. Cassiodorus called Clement 'Stromateus', signaling some familiarity with Clement's *Stromateis*, one of the earliest descriptions of *varietas* as a hermeneutic found among Christian authors.⁵⁵ The *Stromateis* is a philosophical treatise on the source of truth in which Clement mined over 348 Christian and classical authors. In the *Stromateis*, Clement referred to the classical tradition of *varietas* as an aid for understanding Christian literature.⁵⁶ Clement cautioned his readers to rely upon Christian faith as the form of discernment that would appropriately filter the 'banquet' of learning (quite possibly a reference to the tradition for sympotic dialogues) and identify meaning in unfiltered variety.⁵⁷ Clement expected his readers to apply this wisdom to understanding the *Stromateis*, advising them to actively search for meaning in the unstated and to remain alert for revelation, 'just as in a quantity of small pearls one stands out, and in a large catch of fish the most beautiful fish stands out.'⁵⁸ In

⁵² See esp. August. *De civ. D.* 6.2.

⁵³ August. *De civ. D.* 6.4.

⁵⁴ Cassiod. *Inst.* 1.9.4 and 1.16.4, cites *De civitate Dei*.

⁵⁵ Cassiod. *Inst. praef.* 1.4.

⁵⁶ On Clement, P. Donini, 'The History of the Concept of Eclecticism', in J. Dillon and A. Long, eds, *The Question of Eclecticism: Studies in Later Greek Philosophy* (Berkeley, 1996), 15-33.

⁵⁷ Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.1.8.2.

⁵⁸ Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.1.16.3, trans. J. Ferguson, *Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis* (Washington, DC, 1991); for other references to seeking hidden meaning, *Strom.* 1.1.15.1, 1.2.20.3-4, 1.3.22.2, 2.1.3.3-4.

particular, Clement intended his readers to search the *varietas* of the *Stromateis* in order to uncover the text's internal rhetorical strategy:

Because of inexperienced and unsystematic readers our treatise, as we have often said, is to be haphazardly composed with variation of material, as the technical term has it, continually changing from one topic to another, and conveying one meaning by the sequence of arguments, but demonstrating something else.⁵⁹

Clement signaled *varietas* as the essential feature of a rhetorical strategy that instructed an audience through cumulative exposure to different material.⁶⁰ In explaining his own title ('Patchwork'), Clement appropriated an extended tradition for naming encyclopedic texts that acknowledged the suitability of the composite structure of *varietas* for the learning of an audience.⁶¹ Much of Clement's thinking concerning *varietas* was already reflected in Cassiodorus' approach to the *Expositio*, before he acknowledged familiarity with Clement in the *Institutiones*. It is uncertain whether Cassiodorus had been exposed to Clement's work prior to revising the letters included in the *Variae*, but the extent to which the prefaces of the *Variae* speak to familiarity with a broad tradition for encyclopedic writing suggests that Cassiodorus' prior interest in the *varietas* of things led him to Clement.

Conclusion

Following the tradition for encyclopedic writing, Cassiodorus' engagement with *varietas* was programmatic in nature. It complemented the portrayal of the quotidian habits of the palatine elite with evidence for an intellectual culture that was steeped in antiquity. More importantly, the interjection of diverse topics, pervasive throughout the *Variae*, associated the legal and administrative enactments of individual letters with *enkyklios paideia* and attached the bureaucratic record of Cassiodorus' associates to a recognized body of natural and moral truth. This is most clearly seen in the manner by which each digression forms a premise, drawn from the encyclopedic tradition, providing an ethical basis for the legal or administrative decision rendered in a given letter.⁶² Hence, when a letter censures a government official for his failure to deliver papyri to Ravenna in due season, an explanation of the regularity of the Nile's flooding and the naturally occurring permanence of papyri production justifies the court's demand.⁶³ When another letter demands that grammarians at Rome receive the legally appointed salary, a

⁵⁹ Clem. Al. *Strom.* 4.4.1; trans. Ferguson, *Stromateis*.

⁶⁰ Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.2.1.

⁶¹ Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.2.1.

⁶² Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, 268–79.

⁶³ Cassiod. *Var.* 11.38.

disquisition on the science of grammar stands ready to defend the court's decision.⁶⁴ This display of erudition becomes even more profound as a presentation of the moral quality of the bureaucratic elite given the attachment of the collection to the epistolary tradition. The emphasis on *amicitia* and *enkyklios paideia* found in the prefaces suggests to the audience of the *Variae* that friendship and erudition were inseparable as the substrate of communal consensus among the bureaucratic elite.

The relationship between *varietas* and the ethical totality of Cassiodorus' peers is explicit in Cassiodorus' second preface, where he explains how his *amici* compelled him to undertake another work, the *De anima*, after the completion of the *Variae*. Here, Cassiodorus noted that the soul was 'that very element by which he had declaimed so much' in his letters.⁶⁵ In the preface to the *De anima*, Cassiodorus noted that it was by the soul that he and his associates perceived the intelligible meaning of natural phenomena, the subject of much of the encyclopedic content of the *Variae*.⁶⁶ Reading further in the *De anima*, it becomes apparent that only a morally pure soul possesses the kind of perspicacity capable of penetrating the mysteries of nature. In this way, Cassiodorus portrayed the bureaucratic elite of Ravenna as a group possessing collective enlightenment.⁶⁷ When considered within the context of extended traditions for epistolary and encyclopedic writing, Cassiodorus' dossier of palatine documents appear more like a rhetorical literary enterprise than an entirely authentic bureaucratic record.

Consideration of the *Variae* as a treatise in which the encyclopedic content serves a rhetorical purpose has been lacking in scholarship largely because the traditions for assembling epistolary collections and for encyclopedic exposition have been seen as pertaining to separate genres of ancient literature (in particular, not to 'documentary' material). Because of the collection's more superficial claim as a body of legal and administrative documents, Cassiodorus' rhetorical aims and the impact that those aims may have had on the historical record of sixth-century Italy have not been duly acknowledged. There has been a tendency to ascribe Cassiodorus' digressions to literary vanity, not to rhetorical purpose. Similarly, encyclopedic interest in the *Variae* has been attributed to the style of the late-Roman chancery, which the Gothic court adopted to advertise its cultural attainments. The absence, however, of encyclopedic material in documents produced by Theoderic's court independent of Cassiodorus, such as his *Edictum* and letters to Pope Gelasius, suggest that the encyclopedism of the *Variae* is particular and purposeful. Some few examples of Roman administrative writing certainly exhibit an interest in encyclopedic topics, but nowhere in as programmatic fashion as the *Variae*.⁶⁸ Cassiodorus' prefaces invite

⁶⁴ Cassiod. *Var.* 9.21.

⁶⁵ Cassiod. *Var. praef.* 11.7, *Sed postquam duodecim libris opusculum nostrum desiderato fine concluderam, de animae substantia vel de virtutibus eius amici me disserere coegerunt, ut per quam multa diximus, de ipsa quoque dicere videremur.*

⁶⁶ Cassiod. *De anim.* 1.

⁶⁷ On the *De anima*, Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, 293–305.

⁶⁸ Bjornlie, *Politics and Tradition*, 206–15.

his audience to think about the *Variae* specifically in relation to the epistolary and encyclopedic traditions (not the tradition for late-Roman legal writing). It was by blending the epistolary and encyclopedic traditions that Cassiodorus was able to fashion the *Variae* as an idealized textual performance of bureaucratic culture.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Also in this volume on the transmission and adaptation of genre, C. Whately, 'The Genre and Purpose of Military Manuals in Late Antiquity', Chapter 17.

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Chapter 21

Byzantine World Chronicles: Identities of Genre

Sergei Mariev

The distinction between chronicles and works of history forms an integral part of our understanding of Byzantine literature. The assumptions underlying the literary identity of Byzantine chronicles frequently go unchallenged, yet the implications of these assumptions for our understanding and appreciation of Byzantine literature call for special consideration. The study of the Roman Latin chronicle traditions by Burgess and Kulikowski, which appeared after this chapter was completed, has identified a number of issues that are of paramount importance for our understanding of the history of this genre between the first century BC and the sixth century AD.¹ The present chapter will offer some additional considerations on this subject. On the one hand, it examines several major attempts by historians of Byzantine literature to define the identity of chronicles as a distinct group of texts within the larger body of Byzantine historiographical writing and, on the other, it tries to identify various types of evidence offered by the texts themselves that can be used either to cast doubt on or to corroborate the hypothesis that chronicles possessed an identity of their own in the eyes of Byzantine authors and readers.

The Identity of the Chronicle: Past Approaches

The first attempt to establish the generic identity of ‘the chronicle’ in the context of a history of Byzantine literature was made by Karl Krumbacher in his *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*.² He viewed chronicles as ‘products of a monkish mentality’, which were ‘written by monks and for monks’, whom he characterised as a ‘mass of poorly educated people thirsting for devoutly religious instruction’. Based on this assumption, he classified some 20 historiographical texts from John Malalas onwards as belonging to this group and thereby put into circulation one of the most influential misconceptions, which shaped perceptions of Byzantine

¹ R.W. Burgess and M. Kulikowski. *Mosaics of Time* (Turnhout, 2013).

² K. Krumbacher. *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)* (2nd ed., Munich, 1897).

historiography for entire generations of students of Byzantine literature.³ From the publication of Krumbacher's *Geschichte* on, Byzantine historiographical literature was viewed as consisting of 'chronicles', 'works of history' and 'works of ecclesiastical history'. However, Krumbacher was not merely interested in the social and educational background of the readers and writers of chronicles, but offered a comprehensive conception of this genre, as his assumption that chronicles were written by monks provided him with a foundation for interpreting the style and content of these texts and also allowed him to distinguish them from all other historiographical works, and especially from works of history: he believed that the 'simple' language and lower style used in the chronicles were due to the fact that they were written by poorly educated monks; he also believed that the account of world history written from a Christian standpoint which is frequently found in these texts can be explained by the fact that they were intended for monks, who were 'thirsting for devoutly religious instruction'. It was also on this assumption that he differentiated chronicles from works of history, as the latter were supposedly written by well-educated members of the Byzantine social elite for other well-educated members of the same elite. It can be observed, therefore, that the first 'identity' conferred on this genre by one of the 'founding fathers' of Byzantine studies was, incredible as it may seem, one marked by the lack of education and learning attributed to the writers of chronicles and their intended readers.

In an influential article that appeared almost 100 years later, Beck targeted the very foundations of Krumbacher's understanding of Byzantine chronicles.⁴ He demonstrated that out of approximately 21 authors considered by Krumbacher, only six, i.e. less than one third, actually were monks or became monks towards the end of their lives⁵ and that at least five names on Krumbacher's list (including several 'monks') had earlier in their lives belonged to the same social and

³ Krumbacher never made a canonical 'list' of Byzantine chronicles. The sections of his *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* dedicated to works of this genre contain references to slightly more than 20 authors and the names of various chronicles, historical compilations and continuations. The number '21' became important later when Beck formulated his criticism of Krumbacher's concept of 'monkish chronicles' by showing, among other things, that less than a third of the names on Krumbacher's 'list' actually were monks or became monks towards the end of their lives.

⁴ H.-G. Beck, 'Zur byzantinischen Mönchschronik', in C. Bauer, ed., *Speculum historiae: Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung (Johannes Spörl aus Anlass seines sechzigsten Geburtstages dargebracht)*, (Munich, 1965), 188–97.

⁵ Beck considered the following authors to be monks: Georgios Synkellos, Theophanes, Patriarch Nikephoros, Georgios Monachos, [Georgios Kedrenos], [Konstantinos Manasses], Michael Glykas, Theodoros Skytariotes. He was reluctant to admit Georgios Kedrenos and Konstantinos Manasses into this list, saying on p. 191, 'Even if Kedrenos and Manasses are added to this list (for the sake of argument), the number of monks increases only to eight' ('Selbst wenn man Kedrenos und Manasses (um des lieben Friedens willens) hinzuzählt, erhöht sich ihre Zahl nur auf acht').

intellectual elite which, in Krumbacher's view, was the proper social milieu of the 'higher' genre of history. His results did not merely amount to correcting a minor error in Krumbacher's account. They actually proved the entire conception of a 'monkish chronicle', as it had been envisaged by Krumbacher, to be without historical foundation. Even though Beck himself continued to maintain the difference between 'chronicles' and 'works of history', mainly on stylistic grounds, his study posed a new challenge for Byzantinists who had to define, once again, the identity of 'chronicles' as a distinct group of texts with respect to all other historiographical works.

This challenge was taken up by Herbert Hunger, who – unwittingly, it seems – came up with a revised version of Krumbacher's view.⁶ Writing some 20 years after Beck, he tried to shift the focus from the authors and readers of chronicles – about whom we admittedly know very little – onto some features of the texts themselves, such as sensational news, reports of prodigies, omens and other miraculous events, and even 'sex and crime', which he considered to be essential to these texts. However, he went one step further and offered some speculations about their intended audience as well. In doing so, he ended up formulating a comprehensive concept of this genre which was very similar to Krumbacher's: the presence of 'sensational news' with an admixture of 'sex and crime' made chronicles comparable to works of so-called 'trivial literature', since chronicles were similarly intended to serve 'as an entertainment for the common people':

The choice of trivial literary motives, language and action, stereotypical representations of figures and their background and easy readability are the characteristics of this genre. Works of trivial literature are intended primarily as an entertainment for a general public. They correspond to the mentality of an average sort of fellow ('durchschnittlicher Zeitgenosse'). It now becomes an easy task to deduce several specific characteristics [of this genre] from these broadly defined features. A large amount of diverse information is included [in these texts] in order to serve as entertainment — in the case of chronicles this information is taken from the realm of history and is spiced up with an admixture of 'sex and crime'.

The similarity with the fallacious thesis put forward by Krumbacher becomes apparent at this point: chronicles as literature for the poorly educated monks have essentially become, in Hunger's view, 'trivial literature' for the 'common people'. Once again the identity of Byzantine chronicles was defined in terms of their supposed simplicity and was made dependent upon the alleged lack of learning or literary sophistication of their supposed readers.

These two views of the literary nature of Byzantine chronicles, as expressed by Krumbacher and Hunger, are found in comprehensive histories of Byzantine

⁶ Cf. H. Hunger, 'Chroniken als Trivilliteratur', in: *idem*, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, (Munich, 1978), vol. 1, 257–78.

literature which typically begin their treatment of this genre in the age of Justinian, identifying the chronicle written by John Malalas as its first representative in Byzantium and avoiding consideration of the difficult question of continuity between Late Antique and especially Early Christian chronicles, in particular those of Julius Africanus and Eusebios, and the subsequent Byzantine tradition. Taking into account that Julius Africanus and Eusebios cannot in any way be fitted into Krumbacher's conception of 'monkish chronicles' or into Hunger's notion of chronicles as trivial literature, but, on the contrary, have to be considered as outstanding products of learning and historical research, it follows that either the features which Krumbacher und Hunger saw as essential characteristics of this genre are in fact only incidental, or that Byzantine chronicles, starting with John Malalas, have nothing in common with these two illustrious representatives of this genre in Late Antiquity.

Late Antique Chronicles

Are chronicles from Late Antiquity relevant to our understanding of Byzantine chronography at all? It is important to stress that this question is not formulated here in terms familiar to the *Quellenforschung* (i.e., which Early Christian chronicles become sources for the Byzantine chronographical tradition?), but is asked from the standpoint of a historian of Byzantine literature.⁷ Adopting a diachronic approach to the problem of genre, one might look for continuity and change between chronicles in Late Antiquity and Byzantium on the assumption that the identity of this genre in Byzantium can be defined in terms of distance from or proximity to its supposed literary antecedents from Late Antiquity. In what respect, then, can chronicles from Late Antiquity, and especially the chronographical works written by Julius Africanus and Eusebios, help us to define the 'identity' of Byzantine chronicles? This question acquires even more significance in light of the conclusions reached by Burgess and Kulikowski (2013). While we now have a much better understanding of the earlier history of the chronicle traditions, it becomes necessary to assess correctly the distance between the Byzantine chronicles and their literary antecedents. Byzantine readers and writers from different periods had very different ideas about their own literary past. This means that for some periods it is reasonable to compare Byzantine chronicles to the corresponding works of Late Antiquity, since we can expect that these works were actually known to the Byzantine audience of that time, while the engagement of Byzantine literary production in other periods with the early

⁷ On the differences between the *Quellenforschung*-approach and literary criticism with respect to Byzantine historiography, see J. Ljubarskij, 'Quellenforschung and/or Literary Criticism: Narrative Structures in Byzantine Historical Writings', *Symbolae Osloenses* 73 (1998) 5–73.

representatives of this genre makes less sense, as the Byzantine audience was either unfamiliar with or showed little interest in them.⁸

It can be argued that both Julius Africanus and Eusebios, admittedly each in very different ways, gave expression to a typically Christian concept of linear 'historical space' which opens up at some point after the creation of the world (such as the creation of Adam, Adam's expulsion from paradise, Abraham) and runs through to the 'end of times'. Both the world-week chronological framework of Julius Africanus and the multi-column format of Eusebios' *Canones* imply this linear view of human history. The 'historical space', in which individual events are placed and from which they derive their historical significance, is not constituted by some political event of paramount importance (e.g. the war between Athens and Sparta in Thucydides or the emergence of Rome as a universal power in Polybios) but is founded upon the Christian concept of the history of mankind.

Can this view of history be detected in the subsequent Byzantine chronological tradition? A strong argument in support of this thesis is derived from the emphasis on chronography and the importance of dates in many of the historiographical works that are traditionally viewed as 'chronicles'. The specifically Christian linear view of history is implicitly present in all historiographical texts that begin ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ and show particular interest in chronology and especially in dating the events *ab origine mundi* or *ab anno Adam*, since each entry consisting of a date and some historical information associated with it can be interpreted as an attempt to fill with meaning a specific point on this universal 'line' of events. The mere presence of dates, of course, does not turn any historical text into a chronicle. Nor is the annalistic format per se sufficient for this purpose: various lists of magistrates or pagan annalistic histories (e.g. Dexippos) are not chronicles in this sense. Dating events as an underlying principle of composition must be capable of having a significance of its own: the annalistic form must become an important message of a given text in order for this text to be a chronicle. This is certainly true of Eusebios' *Canones*. To some extent – the specific circumstances cannot be explored in detail here – this can also be argued of many but not all Byzantine texts that are traditionally labelled as chronicles: Malalas, *Chronikon Paschale*, Theophanes are considered chronicles in this sense; John of Antioch, in contrast, is not. Georgios Monachos' chronicle is a very interesting case if considered in this regard. He organised the material in his work, as he himself explains in the preface, ἐν τάξει τμημάτων.⁹ How can this 'order (or particular disposition) of sections' be interpreted? His chronicle shows a strong interest in eschatology: he was not only aware of the succession of four kingdoms described in the *Book of Daniel*, but also saw the possibility of using this narrative in order to define

⁸ Cf. Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 222–3, who also speak of various breaks between the Ancient past and the Byzantine Middle Ages.

⁹ Cf. Georg. Monach. 4.2 (ed. de Boor).

the place of the Byzantine Empire within a larger framework of world history.¹⁰ This evidence could mean – and Afinogenov’s interpretation has provided some initial indications that point firmly in this direction¹¹ – that the composition of this chronicle does not rely on the linear world-week structure favoured by Julius Africanus, but was instead an attempt to employ the scheme of the succession of the four kingdoms.

These reflections suggest that the identity of the genre of ‘chronicles’ in Byzantium – at least in this particular aspect – could be based upon a consideration of their similarities with and differences from their Early Christian literary antecedents. The achievement of the Early Christian chroniclers did not consist in the introduction of a ‘new’ literary format, nor in the formulation of a specifically Christian view of human history, but in turning annalistic histories into an adequate medium of expression for this particular view of human history. Considering Byzantine chronicles as ‘heirs’ to this development could amount to creating a new foundation for a comprehensive understanding of the identity of this genre from a diachronic perspective.

These reflections should not be understood as a defence of an old and, admittedly, quite undifferentiated thesis that chronicles are an invention of Christian Late Antiquity, but rather as an attempt to derive an important aspect of the identity of this genre in Byzantium not from the format but from the message that the chronicles very frequently conveyed. Burgess and Kulikowski make the following remark: ‘[...] Christian chronicles heaped new and different layers of meaning upon the chronicle format. For Christians, chronicles could, for instance, function as accounts of divine Providence operating through human history.’¹² One should ask, however, whether it is the format that makes a chronicle into a chronicle and whether a chronicle still remains a chronicle after new and different layers of meaning are ‘heaped’ upon it. An alternative thesis, which is advocated here, holds that it was the Christian view of human history that was ultimately responsible not only for the survival but also for the enormous popularity of this format throughout the entire Byzantine period. The identity of the genre in Byzantium should not be based exclusively or primarily on the format, but rather on the message that it conveyed.

The elaboration of a comprehensive concept of this genre is especially important, since the historical evidence that Byzantine writers and readers themselves ever perceived a distinction between chronicles and works of history is very scarce.

¹⁰ Cf. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reicheschatologie: die Periodisierung der Weltgeschichte in den vier Grossreichen (Daniel 2 und 7) und dem tausendjährigen Friedensreiche (Apok. 20): eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Munich, 1972), 58–9.

¹¹ Cf. D.E. Afinogenov, ‘Композиция Хроники Георгия Амартола’, *VizVrem* 52 (1991) 102–12.

¹² Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, 33.

Byzantine Concepts of the Chronicle Genre

One might hope to find traces of this distinction in what could be called ‘titles in an extended sense of the word’. A ‘title in an extended sense of the word’ signifies here the several variant titles of a text as transmitted in different manuscripts, titles attached to excerpts from a given work, ‘self-referential’ remarks (i.e. internal cross-references and allusions), and external references in other literary texts. It would not be unreasonable to expect that this material could provide us with some indications as to what expectations the writers (again, in a broad sense, including excerptors and copyists) might have wanted to communicate to their potential readers with regard to a given text, especially given that the lexical means to differentiate between what we might be tempted to call ‘chronicles’ and ‘works of history’ are available: ἱστορία and cognate expressions could be taken to indicate ‘works of history’, whereas χρονική ἱστορία, χρονικόν and related expressions could be expected to indicate ‘chronicles’. However, the expressions ἱστορία and χρονική ἱστορία in the ‘titles’ were not applied with a regularity or uniformity sufficient to prove that the Byzantine writers and readers in general actually relied on these expressions in order to communicate any particular expectations with regard to the literary identity of the texts. John of Antioch’s work, for instance, is labelled as ἱστορία in the *Excerpta de insidiis*, as transmitted in Cod. scorialensis Ω I 11 and Cod. par. gr. 1666, but as ἱστορία χρονική (ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ) in the *Excerpta de virtutibus*, as transmitted in the Cod. tur. C 980. John Malalas’ work bears the enigmatic title ἐγκύκλιον in Cod. par. suppl. gr. 682, whereas excerpts from this work are identified as originating from an ἐκλογή τῶν χρονικῶν in Cod. par. gr. 1336 and from a ἱστορία in both of the collections *Excerpta de insidiis* and *Excerpta de virtutibus*. Various material from the so-called *Logotheten-Chronik* is labelled as ἱστορία, χρονικόν and χρονογραφία in various manuscripts (Cod. par. gr. 854, Cod. par. gr. 1708 and Cod. par. gr. 1711, respectively). These examples could be easily multiplied.

Equally disappointing are attempts to identify any interest in formulating a precise definition of ‘chronicles’ in what might be broadly defined as Late Antique and Byzantine literary criticism. Given the well-known fact that chronicles did not figure in the context of Aristotelian genre theory, nor were they a subject of interest for the theoreticians of rhetoric, it is not surprising that items of literary criticism that could be relevant to the definition of their literary identity are actually very scarce.

A fragment from Eunapios preserved in the *Excerpta de insidiis* contains a statement by this author which is very instructive. At the beginning of Fragment 1 (ed. Blockley),¹³ Eunapios points out ‘the great danger’ (ὄσος καὶ ἡλίκος ὁ κίνδυνος) that ensues if history is to be written in an annalistic fashion (κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον, *lit.* year by year). This danger, as Eunapios explains, results from the disagreement among earlier authorities about the exact dating of

¹³ Blockley, *FCH*, vol.2.

particular events. The subsequent argument of Eunapios merits close attention: an awareness of the fact that the authorities contradict one another with regard to the dating of particular events puts the author of a χρονικὴ ἱστορία (a title of Dexippos' work) in a position where he must publicly concede that he is producing a work that can be likened to an assembly without a president (ἀπρόεδρος). In other words, the lack of agreement among earlier authorities corresponds to the image of an assembly without a president, the lack of secure guidance being the *tertium comparationis* between the two. 'This is not the way to play the flute,' continues Eunapios, quoting a Boeotian proverb, and states that the end and purpose of history (τέλος ἱστορίας καὶ σκοπός) is to describe the deeds (τὰ πραχθέντα) in accordance with truth. For this purpose, and this is Eunapios' main point, chronological calculations (λογισμοὶ τῶν χρόνων) are useless. A series of rhetorical questions follows to emphasise this point:

What do dates contribute towards the wisdom of Socrates or the acuity of Themistocles? Were they good and great men only during summertime? Did they grow and shed their virtues like leaves according to season?¹⁴

Can this fragment from Eunapios be interpreted as an indication that he perceived 'chronicles' or annalistic historical works as a separate genre of historiographical literature? Most probably not. Even though the entire passage is aimed against Dexippos, the reference to the summertime seems to target Thucydides (who organised his historical work according to a division into summer and winter seasons) and who was for the subsequent tradition the author of one of the two (the other being Herodotos) 'paradigmatic' histories, not chronicles, if this distinction played any role at all.¹⁵ It is safer to conclude, therefore, that Fragment 1 of Eunapios is primarily concerned with consideration of the role of dates and chronology within the scope of history in general.

Another interesting source of information is Photios. From the approximately 280 'books' reviewed by him in his *Bibliotheca*, 15 works deal with 'Christian and Jewish history', and 27 can be classified as 'Secular and Pagan Historical Works'. In his reviews,¹⁶ Photios was interested in the content and style of the works and also frequently included biographical sketches of the authors.¹⁷ It is mainly within the context of the stylistic assessment of a particular author that Photios made remarks that are of interest for the present investigation: speaking about Theodoret's

¹⁴ Translation from Blockley, *FCH*, vol. 1, 8.

¹⁵ Cf. G. Martin, *Dexipp von Athen: Edition, Übersetzung und begleitende Studien* (Tübingen, 2006), 101, n. 4.

¹⁶ For a comprehensive assessment of Photios' reviews, see T. Hägg, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur: Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Exzerpieren in der Bibliothek* (Stockholm, 1975) and Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photios* (Washington DC, 1980), 81–96.

¹⁷ Cf. Treadgold, *The Nature*, 52.

Ecclesiastical History, Photios remarks that out of all the authors who had been previously considered, Theodoret is the only one who gave his history a style (φράσις) appropriate to such a work (κατάλληλον φράσιν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ [...] ἐπέθηκε); his style is further described as clear (σαφής), lofty (ὕψηλός) and ἀπέριττος (i.e. plain, simple, without superfluity).¹⁸ A very similar verdict about style is found in codex 70 which contains a review of Diodoros. Here Photios remarks that he adopts a clear (σαφής) and unadorned (ἄκομψος) style which is conspicuously fitting for history (ἱστορίᾳ μάλιστα πρεπούση).¹⁹ Malchos of Philadelphia, too, is characterised as an excellent writer of history (κατὰ συγγραφὴν ἱστορίας ἄριστος), pure (καθαρός), without superfluity (ἀπέριττος), a pellucid (εὐκρινής is opposed to ἀμφίβολος [ambiguous]) author, who uses most flowery (ἀνθηροτάταις) and clear (εὐσήμοις) expressions which ascend to a certain loftiness or majesty (εἰς ὄγκον τινὰ ἀνηγμέναις).²⁰ Very similar descriptions are reserved for Arrian, Zosimos and Herodian.²¹ Negative judgements about the style of several historical works are also recorded in the *Bibliotheca*. An example is provided by his description of Kandidos (cod. 79). This writer is severely criticised because his style is not appropriate to history (τὴν δὲ φράσιν οὐκ ἔχει πρέπουσαν λόγῳ ἱστορικῷ) on account of the fact that he uses poetical expressions (ταῖς τε γὰρ ποιητικαῖς λέξεσιν [...] κέχρηται) and ventures syntactical innovations (νεωτερίζει δὲ καὶ ταῖς συντάξεσιν) with the result that he becomes difficult to read (δυσχερὴς ἀκοῦσαι, *literally*: to listen to) and unpleasant (τοῦ ἡδέος ὑπερόριος).²² Another negative judgement is reserved for the historian Olympiodoros, who is criticised for slackness and flaccidity of style (ἄτονος δὲ καὶ ἐκλελυμένος) as well as for his tendency towards vulgar language and coarseness (χυδαιολογία). Photios further considers Olympiodoros' text to be unworthy of being classified as a 'work of narrative' (μὴδ' ἄξιος εἰς συγγραφὴν ἀναγράφεσθαι ὁ λόγος). The expression συγγραφὴ used here does not necessarily mean 'history', as some translations of

¹⁸ Cf. Photios, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 31.I.18.3–5 (ed. Henry).

¹⁹ Cf. *idem*, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 70.I.103.7–3.

²⁰ Cf. *idem*, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 78.I.161.36–9.

²¹ The long passage dedicated to Arrian's style cannot be summarised here for reasons of space (cf. Photios, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 92.II.32.40–33.30). Much along the same lines Photios describes the style of the historian Zosimos (cod. 98), remarking that his work is shorter and clearer than Eunapios' and that he uses rhetorical figures very rarely or not at all (καὶ ταῖς τροπαῖς, εἰ μὴ σπάνιον, οὐ κεχρημένος), cf. cod. 98.II.66.36–8. Following a rather long list of adjectives that qualify Herodian's style (cod. 99.II.69.37–70.42), Photios states the following: καὶ ἀπλῶς ἱστορικῶν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀρεταῖς οὐ πολλῶν ἐστὶ δεύτερος. The point of this remark is relevant to the present investigation, since Photios acknowledges here the virtues (i.e. virtues of style) that are proper to the genre of history, while stating that Herodian is one of the best writers if judged by these virtues.

²² Cf. Photios, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 79.I.162, 20–31.

this passage seem to suggest.²³ The word συγγραφή indicates ‘written narrative’, while a cognate expression συγγραφεύς can indicate a historian, but more frequently means a writer, not necessarily of history. Photios’ meaning seems to be: Olympiodoros is not an [accomplished] author or writer. In the following lines Photios further qualifies this work as ὕλη συγγραφῆς, i.e. as raw material, lacking form and shape (ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνίδεος), which needs to be elaborated or formed first in order to become a ‘work of literature’. When speaking about the chronicle (χρονικόν)²⁴ of Justus of Tiberias, a contemporary of Josephos, Photios remarks that his style is very concise (συντομωτάτος) and that he omits the largest part of the necessary information (τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀναγκαιωτάτων παρατρέχων).²⁵ In the following codex 34, dedicated to Julius Africanus, whose work is classified by Photios as a history (ἱστορικόν), he remarks that his style is concise (σύντομος) but that he nevertheless does not omit any necessary information (μηδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἱστορηθῆναι παραλιμπάνων).²⁶ The title of Eunapios’ work is given by Photios as χρονικὴ ἱστορία. In the section of his review dedicated to Eunapios’ style, Photios remarks that he is elegant in his diction (καλλιειπὴς τὴν φράσιν), but shows excessive use of rhetorical figures (τροπαῖς μὲν κέχρηται παραβόλως), which is contrary to the norms of history (ὅπερ ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας οὐκ ἐθέλει νόμος, *literally*: which the usage/custom of history does not decree). However, Photios is not only criticising Eunapios here, but also makes a positive point: as far as the composition of his periods and his clarity are concerned, he is in accord with the ‘norms’ of history (πρὸς ἱστορίαν [...] συμμέτρως καὶ οἰκείως ἔχει).²⁷

This brief analysis shows, therefore, that Photios was primarily concerned with the style of the works he had reviewed. On several occasions he expresses the idea that a particular style is appropriate, and especially appropriate or inappropriate for a work of history. His comments indicate that he had a predominantly stylistic concept of the genre ‘history’. His use of the word χρονικόν and his reviews of those works that modern literary historians would classify as ‘chronicles’ do not suggest that he was interested in making a distinction between chronicles and works of history. The negative remarks he reserved for Justus of Tiberias, i.e. for the only work labelled by him as a χρονικόν, cannot be generalised and taken as an indication of his negative attitude towards chroniclers, because Justus is

²³ Cf., e.g., the French translation by Henry: ‘que son livre ne mérite pas d’être mis au rang des livres d’histoire’.

²⁴ This word and cognate expressions are used very rarely in the *Bibliotheca*. The word χρονικόν is used only in cod. 33 (Justus from Tiberias); the word χρονικὴ appears once as a component of the title of Eunapios’ χρονικὴ ἱστορία, which is reviewed in cod. 77. In cod. 97 (Phlegon of Tralles) this word is also part of the title of the reviewed work (‘Compilation of Olympic Victors and Chronicles’). Other instances of words from this lexical family (in codd. 225, 229, 230 and 240) are used with a different meaning (‘temporal’, e.g. ‘creation in time’).

²⁵ Cf. Photios, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 33.I.19.33–4.

²⁶ Cf. *idem*, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 34.I.19.8–10.

²⁷ Cf. *idem*, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 77.I.159.13–25.

criticised on other grounds, namely for omitting some 'necessary information', which is, in this case, the coming of Christ (τῆς Χριστοῦ παρουσίας), all about him that was brought to fulfillment (τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τελεσθέντων) and all the miracles performed by him (τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τερατουργηθέντων). The other work which bears a similar expression in its title (i.e. Eunapios' χρονικὴ ἱστορία) receives a review that contains a balanced mixture of negative and positive points. Photios does not use the word χρονικόν when reviewing Julius Africanus, i.e. the 'paradigmatic' chronicle from Late Antiquity, while his remark that Julius Africanus does not omit any necessary information, if read together with the criticism of Justus which immediately precedes it, should be understood in the sense that Julius Africanus, in contrast to Justus, does not fail to mention Jesus Christ and related events. It must be concluded, therefore, that Photios did not have any particular concept of chronicles as being distinct from history, but read and judged both works of history and 'chronicles' with the help of a set of predominantly stylistic criteria.

Similarly, the proems to Byzantine 'chronicles' are not especially useful for the purpose of determining the literary identities of this genre. For reasons of space, observations can be provided here only on the proem to the work of Georgios Monachos,²⁸ leaving analysis of the equally interesting proem of Zonaras for another occasion. The opening lines contain several statements in which Georgios defines his own stance with respect to the preceding tradition. He does not mention any of his literary antecedents by name, but prefers to form two groups. One comprises the heathen (τῶν ἕξω) literary men (φιλόλογοι), prose (or history) writers (λογογράφοι),²⁹ historians (ἱστορικοί), poets (ποιηταί) and chroniclers (χρονογράφοι). The other is constituted by some 'honourable men' (σεμνοπρεπῶν ἀνδρῶν) of much later times (πολὺ μεταγενεστέρων). Georgios states that he has read not only Ancient Greek historians ('Ελληνικῶν καὶ παλαιῶν ἱστορικῶν'),³⁰ but also the narratives (ἐξηγήσεις), chronicles (χρονογραφίας), histories (ἱστορίας) and edifying works profitable for the soul (διδασκαλίας ψυχωφελεῖς) of these later authors before composing (ἐξεθέμεθα) his own chronicle (χρονικόν).³¹ Pagan writers are criticised by Georgios in the same passage mostly because they are neither easy to understand (εὐληπτὰ τε καὶ εὐκατάληπτα) nor pellucid (εὐκρινῆ) for many people (τοῖς πολλοῖς). The task which Georgios has set himself is defined mainly as writing a work which is εὐσύνοπτον (easily taken in at a glance) and εὐμνημόνευτον (easy to remember), i.e. by stressing the advantages of the work itself for future readers. These words underline the diversity and wide range of literary works that Georgios considers as his literary antecedents. He is not trying to make any precise distinctions between different genres in order to assign

²⁸ Cf. the detailed analysis of the composition of the chronicle in Afinogenov, 'Композиция' (n. 11); the proem is analysed at 103–4.

²⁹ The *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Lampe) translates this word as 'historians' and records a negative connotation 'long-winded prosy writer' (*ad verbum*).

³⁰ Or, if this is not intended as a *hendiadyoin*, Greek and Ancient Historians.

³¹ Cf. Georgios Monachos, p.2.2–3 (ed. de Boor).

himself to a particular literary or historiographical tradition. His aim here, on the contrary, is to mention as many diverse 'genres' and traditions as possible, both pagan and Christian, in order to stress the universality of his literary background. It is true that he uses the word *χρονικόν* to describe his own work. However, as has been shown above, this word per se does not imply any identity of genre, since it was used rather indiscriminately throughout the Byzantine period and Georgios himself does not associate any particular literary identity with this term, but prefers instead to list the advantages which his own particular work will have for future readers. The use of this word here could perhaps be taken as an indication that, by this date, a *χρονικόν* has become a vague general term to apply to a 'universal' literary format which was capable not only of accommodating any event within an all-embracing frame of universal history, but also of assimilating almost any other literary genre.

Conclusion

Even if the evidence examined so far ('titles', literary criticism, proems) provides hardly any confirmation to the effect that the Byzantine readers and writers were in some way aware of the literary identity of chronicles, this does not mean that such an identity is merely a construct contrived by the modern historians of Byzantine literature. The evidence to support this last observation comes, paradoxically, from a text that at first glance could appear as the least conventional chronicle ever written in Byzantium. The verse chronicle by Konstantinos Manasses is in fact not a chronicle but a subtle literary diversion (in German *ein literarisches Spiel*),³² which was commissioned by the *sebastokratorissa* Irene. Yet it is a chronicle in the sense that it adheres closely to the linear structure of the Christian world chronicle, and it contains the same episodes (e.g. separation of land and water) and mentions the same figures (e.g. Semiramis and Ninus) as its numerous antecedents. However, this work turns everything (motives, entire episodes, language) into a literary *divertissement*: the separation of land and water is treated in Homeric language and is likened to the process of cheese-making.³³ Ninus marries Semiramis ἐξ ἐρωτομανίας,³⁴ out of raving love, and so on. In short, this work transforms the serious, and admittedly boring, stuff of a traditional chronicle into a joke, a conceit or parody for the amusement of the court. In this original version it contained very little chronological information. The impressive manuscript tradition of this work (more than 100 manuscripts and a paraphrase into colloquial Greek) proves, on

³² Cf. D.R. Reinsch. 'Historia ancilla litterarum: Zum literarischen Geschmack der Komnenen-Zeit', in P. Odorico and P. Agapitos, eds, *Pour une 'nouvelle' histoire de la littérature byzantine (actes du Colloque International Philologique, Nicosie - Chypre, 25 – 28 mai 2000)* (Paris, 2002), 81–94.

³³ Konstantinos Manasses, *Breviarium chronicum*, 55–6.

³⁴ Ibid., 554–5.

the one hand, the enormous popularity that it enjoyed in the subsequent period. On the other hand, the transformations which the chronicle underwent at this stage, which entailed various attempts to emend the original text, especially by inserting dates, can be interpreted as attempts by readers and copyists outside the court to transform a parody of a chronicle or a literary diversion back into a more serious and more traditional chronicle. This double transformation (chronological tradition into a parody and parody back into a traditional chronicle) not only provides an invaluable testimony to the preferences and literary tastes of both the court elite and the collective anonymous readers in Byzantium, but also shows that there must have been an awareness of the literary identity of this genre. This identity is revealed first as that which was parodied by Konstantinos Manasses in the first place and then manifests itself again in the expectations which this parody had to meet in order to become a chronicle again.

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Chapter 22

Himerius and the Personalization of the Monody

Edward Watts

The monody is one of late antique rhetoric's forgotten genres, sitting in the corner largely ignored while panegyrics and encomia attract most of our attention. Of course, some of this has to do with the nature of monodies. They tend to be short, mournful works of commemoration. Aside from Libanius' monody of the emperor Julian (which usually is read alongside the self-styled *stelographia* invectives of Gregory of Nazianzus),¹ these works shed little light on the great political and religious dramas of the period. They are instead about people and places whose loss the speaker wanted remembered but whose significance now can seem relatively slight.

The lack of attention these texts usually receive belies their significance as sources for the way in which late antique rhetoricians engaged with earlier literary exempla and adapted existing generic models. The corpus of late antique Greek monodies is small and most of what survives appears to descend from a narrow set of exemplary texts (primarily the two extant monodies of Aelius Aristides).² The general structure of these monodies also closely parallels that laid out in the second treatise *About Epideictics* of Menander Rhetor, a work it is generally thought was composed around the year 300.³ At the same time, fourth-century authors like Himerius and Libanius adapt these conventions in subtle but distinctive ways that make their speeches more powerful. Their monodies show fourth-century authors

¹ For Libanius' text, see E. Watts, 'The Historical Context: The Rhetorical Use of Suffering in Libanius' Monodies, Letters, and Autobiography', in *The Cambridge Companion to Libanius*, ed. L. Van Hoof, (Cambridge, forthcoming). For Gregory's characterization, see S. Elm, 'Gregory Nazianzus's Life of Julian revisited (Or. 4 and 5): The art of governance by invective', in *From the Tetrarchs to Theodosians*, eds S. McGill, C. Sogno and E. Watts (Cambridge, 2010), 171–82.

² The clearest example of this comes in Libanius, *Or.* 61, the Monody on Nicomedia, which very closely mirrors Aristides, *Oration* 18. For Aristides as a model for Libanius' monody on Nicomedia, see C.A. Behr, *P. Aelius Aristides, The Complete Works*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1981), 358 n. 1; T. Bekker-Nielsen *Urban Life and Local Politics in Roman Bithynia* (Aarhus, 2008), 163 n. 42.

³ Authorship is in doubt, though a date after 285 and an Athenian place of composition for Treatise II seems likely. On this, see Russell and Wilson, *Menander Rhetor: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1982), xxxiv–xl.

simultaneously working within the confines of recognizable generic conventions and experimenting with new ways to elicit reactions from their audiences.

This article focuses on Himerius' *Oration* 8, the monody that the Bithynian-born and Athenian-based sophist delivered following the premature death of his son Rufinus. This remarkable speech breaks in small but significant ways with established generic conventions and, in so doing, charts new rhetorical strategies for conveying loss and soothing grief. Before discussing Himerius' adaptations, however, it is best to begin by describing the conventions of the genre in which he worked.

The most detailed discussion of how to organize a monody appears in the second treatise on epideictic oratory ascribed to Menander.⁴ Menander places the monody alongside the *epitaphios* and the *paramuthetikos* in a group of three related types of speeches that honor the dead. All of these bear strong connections to and probably derive from the Classical *epitaphios*, but each also has its own purpose. The late antique *epitaphios* serves as a longer, set piece that praises the dead according to the general model of an encomium. The *paramuthetikos* is a shorter, less structured treatment designed to console. And the monody serves as a lament of the loss. Each also had its own distinctive characteristics.⁵ The *paramuthetikos*, for example, does not 'preserve the sequence of the Classical *encomia* because the speaker gives the impression of being out of his mind and distracted by emotion'.⁶

The monody served as a short speech of lament that was to be no more than 150 lines long and was to have a relaxed style.⁷ It was, however, tightly organized. According to Menander, it blended lament and encomium in a way that followed the general structure of an encomium but 'stressed the element of lamentation continually'.⁸ Monodies could be delivered for a relative, a friend or a leader of a city, but they were only delivered to mark a premature death. Menander makes clear that they are not to be used for older people who lived a full life. The text of the monody should explain the tragedy of the subject's death in a way that marks what he or she accomplished as well as what has been lost because of his or her death. So, for example, the tragedy of a lost civic leader can be marked with a statement that 'the city is splendid but he who raised it up is fallen'⁹ and the

⁴ This is Menander 2.16.

⁵ On consolatory rhetoric more generally, see R. Kassel, *Untersuchungen zur griechischen und römischen Konsolationsliteratur* (Munich, 1958). His divisions are not followed in, for example, the similar treatise of Ps. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, (*On Epideictic Speeches*, ed. L. Radermacher in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Opuscula* vol. 2, [Leipzig, 1905] and translated by Russell and Wilson [*Menander Rhetor*, 362-81]). Ps. Dionysius speaks only about *epitaphioi* (Ps. Dionysius, 277-283).

⁶ Menander 2.9 (413.12-14).

⁷ Menander 2.16 (437.1-4).

⁸ Menander 2.16 (434.22-3).

⁹ Menander 2.16 (434.29-30).

death of an unmarried man can be lamented by remarking that he died before his wedding.¹⁰ To have the greatest effect, the monody is divided into three periods of time. It begins in the present and refers either to the cause of the person's death or to the people who have gathered to hear the speech. It then moves to the past in order to speak about what the person was like in life and what characteristic virtues he or she manifested. The monody finally looks to the future. In this section, the orator discusses what opportunities have been lost because of this death. He then concludes by describing the funeral and the collective grief felt by the city.¹¹

Himerius' monody on his son Rufinus represents a unique example of an orator who clearly appreciates these rules but also understands the potential to work within them to do something quite innovative. Himerius composed the monody while in exile (he had been exiled to Boeotia for unknown reasons following the death of the emperor Julian in 363).¹² Upon learning of Rufinus' death, Himerius evidently decided to write a speech that simultaneously lamented the loss of his son and shamed those who were responsible for sending him out of the city. The resulting speech mixes elements of encomium, liberal expressions of lament, and regular allusions to the speaker's exile. It was a monody designed to resonate far beyond the circle of people who would remember Rufinus – and it was a monody as much about Himerius as his son.

Despite these competing aims, the monody follows the structure that Menander prescribes. The first three chapters begin in the present. They tell how Himerius saw a messenger approach and welcomed him, expecting that he would announce that Rufinus was coming to visit his father. Instead, he learned of his son's death and faced the prospect of paying for his tomb. Himerius notes that he had labored to provide Rufinus the best things in life without realizing that he would in fact be paying for the construction of his tomb. This comment then allows Himerius to transition from the present to the past and launch into a discussion of the virtues Rufinus manifested while he grew up under his father's supervision. He was, Himerius claims, a sophist before he even learned to speak¹³ whose reputation was known everywhere and mentioned by everyone who met his father.¹⁴ He loved his father, protected his sister better even than the Dioscuri, piously observed the rites of the gods, and displayed tremendous courage when contending with his final illness.¹⁵

¹⁰ Menander 2.16 (435.3–5).

¹¹ Menander, 2.16 (435.28–30 on the discussion of the future, 436.12–21 on the funeral).

¹² For the date of his exile, see n. 24 below. For the location as Boeotia see R. Penella, *Man and the Word: The Orations of Himerius* (Berkeley, 2007), 20–21.

¹³ Himerius, *Or.* 8.4. All translations of *Oration* 8 are those of Penella, *Man and the Word*.

¹⁴ *Or.* 8.5–6.

¹⁵ *Or.* 8.8–13.

Himerius then shifts again, this time moving his discussion into the future and focusing upon what has been lost because of Rufinus' death. He had hoped that Rufinus would 'speak more forcefully than Minucianus, more solemnly than Nicagoras, more eloquently than Plutarch, more philosophically than Musonius, more intrepidly than Sextus – in a word, more brilliantly and better than all of his ancestors'.¹⁶ In his death, Himerius claimed, an evil spirit robbed the family and the city of Athens of all of this.

Himerius then brings the oration back to the present for his conclusion. Because he could not attend the funeral, Himerius poured a libation into the Melas River on the night when he wrote this monody.¹⁷ This was, he claims, an occasion where time, place and occasion all shared the same features. The libation was poured in darkest night, beside the Black River, and it marked the untimely death of Rufinus. He then concludes the oration with a lament and a statement of his hope that this oration will make Rufinus immortal by ensuring that his reputation will live on.

As this brief summary shows, Himerius' monody fits neatly within the generic conventions that Menander describes (though it is worth noting that one cannot be sure that Himerius himself had read or was following Menander specifically). It treats each of the three periods Menander recommends discussing in exactly the order that Menander suggests. It follows the general outline of an encomium by focusing upon Rufinus' virtues in the past and the effect that their loss would have in the future. And each of these discussions is punctuated by laments for what has been lost. As Menander recommends, these laments¹⁸ work as the oration's architectural frame around which all of the major points that Himerius makes are built.

This was far from a conventional monody, however. The laments around which Himerius builds the work double as bitter reminders of his exile and implicit criticisms of those who forced him out of Athens. So, for example, the laments with which the monody begins blend mentions of Rufinus' burial with Himerius' wish 'that I had been speaking next to your tomb, that your grave had been my platform ... but you were the spoils of an envy aimed at me, an unjust spirit's incidental victim'.¹⁹ The lament that concludes the list of Rufinus' virtues is even more pointed. After speaking about the great courage the young man showed when facing his final illness, Himerius explains that he finally succumbed to it because a *daimon* 'knew that, when your father was present and fighting by your side, he had

¹⁶ Or. 8.21. All of these men mentioned were prominent Athenian teachers and intellectuals of the second and third century. For a discussion, see E. Watts, *City and School in Late Antique Athens and Alexandria*, (Berkeley, 2006), 38–44; F. Millar, 'P. Herennius Dextrippus: The Greek World and the Third Century Invasions', *JRS* 59 (1969), 12–29.

¹⁷ For this particular Melas River, see Penella, *Man and the Word*, 21 n. 12.

¹⁸ This word choice is extraordinary. *θρήνος* is used six times in the laments of *Oration* 8 and three times in the rest of Himerius' entire corpus.

¹⁹ Or. 8.1–2.

often gone away defeated'.²⁰ With Himerius gone, the malevolent power struck and took Rufinus away. His death, then, resulted from his father's exile.

Himerius' fate also features prominently when he moves from discussing Rufinus' past virtues to the future consequences of Rufinus' death. Rufinus' death, Himerius claims, has made his exile permanent. 'By your death', he writes, 'you have barred me from the gates of the city'.²¹ Himerius cannot, he claims, ever return to the house in which his son once lived or to the city in which he grew up. He cannot ever speak before the council without the protection that his son's reputation for virtue provided. He will not return to his classroom because it was filled with young men of Rufinus' age. He will never give another public declamation because it is not possible to 'go before an audience of Hellenes and make a lament (θρήνος) for Rufinus the introduction to his rhetorical displays (τῶν ἐπιδείξεων)'.²² He will not even perform before a small gathering of friends because 'it was you (Rufinus) who used to convene such gatherings'.²³ In fact, as Himerius makes clear, the most significant consequence for the Athenians of the loss of Rufinus is that it also will lead to the city's permanent loss of Himerius.

It is here that we can finally begin to appreciate the subtext of Himerius' monody. This laments both the death of Himerius' son and the permanence of Himerius' exile. Both events were intertwined. The orator claimed that Rufinus died because Himerius was not there to care for him during his illness. This death, however, meant that Himerius never would return to a city that inflicted such a cruelty on him. The reality, of course, was far different. Himerius desperately wanted to return to Athens and thought that this oration might serve as a vehicle through which he might secure a recall. It seems that it may have worked, too. Himerius' exile seems to be a small blip in an otherwise quite successful career – most of which was spent teaching in the city of Athens. It was so small an incident, in fact, that Eunapius did not even bother to mention it in his biography of Himerius (by contrast, all of Libanius' moves receive prominent attention in Eunapius).²⁴

Although it is only 215 lines long, Himerius' monody shows the flexibility that even the shortest and most well-defined rhetorical models could provide for the late antique orator. Himerius never diverged from the recognized format of a monody and yet managed to make the oration communicate a message that was

²⁰ *Or.* 8.13.

²¹ *Or.* 8.18.

²² *Or.* 8.18.

²³ *Or.* 8.16.

²⁴ Penella is likely incorrect when he says that Himerius remained away from Athens between Julian's death and that of Prohaeresius in 366 (*Man and the Word*, 2). Himerius' oration in praise of Praetextatus (*Oration* 51, now unfortunately lost) must have been delivered during Praetextatus' Achaean proconsulship, an office he held from 362–64. It is likely that he returned in early 364, meaning that the exile and Rufinus' death must both have occurred between the death of Julian and the end of Praetextatus' term (which extended at least until September 364, based upon *CTh* 9.16.7).

quite distinct from the formalized lament one expected in such a speech. This shows that, with some creative tweaking, orations that clearly belonged to established rhetorical genres could become multi-functional documents that served a number of purposes at once.

Himerius' oration also shows some important things about how monodies themselves evolved in the fourth century. Himerius offers the most extreme example of a tendency common to other fourth-century monodies in which authors placed themselves and their experiences at the center of the speech. Traditionally, the orator used the monody to voice a collective lament over the premature death of an important figure and, Menander implies, he seldom delivered a monody for anyone in his immediate family other than his wife.²⁵ Fourth-century authors breached both of these boundaries. Himerius, of course, represents the most extreme such example, but Libanius too saw that rhetorical laments could be made more powerful by placing himself at their center. Libanius hesitated to go so far as to offer a monody for his own son when he died in the late 380s,²⁶ but his Nicomedian monody of 359 and his Julianic monody of early 364 are both based on the conceit that Libanius can soothe the pain of his audience by taking their collective grief upon himself.²⁷ Given the tightly bunched chronology of these orations, it is perhaps even possible to read Himerius' monody and those of Libanius as competing works in which each author experiments with ways to make the monody's short, highly structured lament more versatile and powerful.

These works thus show something about how rhetorical experimentation was done by late antique authors. Although even the most creative and prolific late antique rhetoricians often hesitated to create entirely new rhetorical genres, they did work hard to stretch existing genres in new and interesting ways. This often meant writing a speech that did something completely new while simultaneously following well-established and easily recognized rhetorical conventions. In many ways, this is a harder and more intellectually challenging type of creative activity. We have, I hope, moved beyond the early twentieth-century critiques of late antique Greek rhetoric as derivative, overly dramatic drivel. The next step is to appreciate some of the truly innovative things late antique rhetoricians were doing within the boundaries of existing genres. The humble monody may perhaps help us learn to look for more exciting innovations elsewhere.

²⁵ Menander does indicate that some relatives were permissible (2.16 [434.19–21]).

²⁶ In *Ep.* 1048 Libanius did, however, bludgeon a friend with guilt for not writing such a monody for Cimon.

²⁷ For Nicomedia, see Watts, 'Historical Context', forthcoming. On Libanius' monody for Julian, see P. van Nuffelen, 'Earthquakes in A.D. 363–368 and the Date of Libanius, *Oratio* 18', *CQ* 56 (2006), 657–61. The (now fragmentary) *Monody on the Daphne Temple of Apollo* that Libanius delivered in 362 seems to have worked somewhat differently and followed a more traditional structure. This may, however, be due to the fact that the conclusion of the speech, where the Nicomedian monody contains the most intensive personalization, is apparently now lost.

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